

London

HENRY FROWDE

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS WARLHOUSE
AMEN CORNER, T C



New York

MACMILLAN & Co, 112 FOURTH AVENUE

SWIFT

SELECTIONS FROM HIS WORKS

EDITED WITH

Life, Introductions, and Notes

BY

HENRY CRAIK

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. II

Oxford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1893

Oxford

PRINTED AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

BY HORACE HART, PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY

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SOME FREE THOUGHTS

UPON THE

PRESENT STATE OF AFFAIRS

WRITTEN IN THE YEAR 1714,

● THIS tract was written by Swift from his retreat in Berkshire, to which he had retired for a time, when he saw that the cause for which he had striven was on the point of ruin, in consequence of the fatal jealousies which had sprung up between Oxford and Bolingbroke. The interest of the tract, in its bearing on Swift's political position, lies chiefly in the light it throws upon his own relation towards such Jacobite intrigues as were going on amongst a section of Queen Anne's last Ministry. That such designs were cherished, is now an indubitable fact, but Swift frequently asserted, with entire sincerity, his absolute disbelief in their existence, and this proves that, large as was his influence, and considerable as was the confidence imposed in him, the more dangerous designs of Bolingbroke were never opened to him. At the same time, it is strange that Swift, who saw so clearly, as it is evident from this tract that he did, the advantages which his political opponents had to hope from the Hanoverian succession, and who speaks so bitterly of these advantages, should not have seen that there was fair ground for suspicion of the intrigues, as well as a strong motive for their inception.

Biographically, the treatise is interesting because it marks Swift's deliberate judgment on the political prospect, now that he sees the hopes of his friends on the point of being dissipated. He writes no longer as a combatant or as a defender, but as one calmly taking stock of the loss, as daylight was breaking on the wreck of his hopes.

● From a literary point of view it is still more important. It typifies his broad and calm treatment of political affairs, when he viewed

them as an outsider rather than as a participant in the struggle. He had but just quitted the political arena. But he has scarcely shaken off its dust before he is able to bring himself back to the attitude of mind distinctively his own—that in which he assigned to all the phases of the struggle their due proportion, and gauging with accuracy the play of human motive in it all, referred all its currents to their source in the permanent elements of human action—τὸ σαφὲς τῶν μελλόντων ποτὲ αὖθις κατὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπειον τοιούτων καὶ παραπλησίον ἔσεσθαι—vanity, affected mystery, selfishness, and personal aims, and how he treated all these, not with the bias of a combatant, but with the almost apathetic calm of a dissector of human nature.

WHATEVER may be thought or practised by profound politicians, they will hardly be able to convince the reasonable part of mankind, that the most plain, short, easy, safe, and lawful way to any good end, is not more eligible, than
 5 one directly contrary to some or all of these qualities. I have been frequently assured by great ministers, that politics were nothing but common sense, which, as it was the only true thing they spoke, so it was the only thing they could have wished I should not believe. God has given
 10 the bulk of mankind a capacity to understand reason, when it is fairly offered, and by reason they would easily be governed, if it were left to their choice. Those princes in all ages, who were most distinguished for their mysterious skill in government, found by the event, that they had ill
 15 consulted their own quiet, or the ease and happiness of their people, nor has posterity remembered them with honour such as Lysander and Philip among the Greeks, Tiberius in Rome, Pope Alexander the Sixth and his son Cæsar Borgia, Queen Catherine de Medicis, Philip the
 20 Second of Spain, with many others. Nor are examples less frequent of ministers, famed for men of great intrigue, whose politics have produced little more than murmurings, factions, and discontents, which usually terminated in the disgrace and ruin of the authors.

I can recollect but three occasions in a state, where the talents of such men may be thought necessary, I mean in a state where the prince is obeyed and loved by his subjects first, in the negotiation of the peace; secondly, in adjusting the interests of our own country, with those of the nations round us, watching the several motions of our neighbours and allies, and preserving a due balance among them lastly, in the management of parties and factions at home In the first of these cases I have often heard it observed, that plain good sense, and a firm adherence to the point, have proved more effectual than all those arts, which I remember a great foreign minister used in contempt to call the spirit of negotiating In the second case, much wisdom, and a thorough knowledge of affairs both foreign and domestic, are certainly required after which, I know no talents necessary beside method and skill in the common forms of business In the last case, which is that of managing parties, there seems indeed to be more occasion for employing this gift of the lower politics, whenever the tide runs high against the court and ministry, which seldom happens under any tolerable administration, while the true interest of the nation is pursued But, here in England, (for I do not pretend to establish maxims of government in general,) while the prince and ministry, the clergy, the majority of landed men, and the bulk of the people, appear to have the same views and the same principles, it is not obvious to me, how those at the helm can have many opportunities of showing their skill in mystery and refinement, beside what themselves think fit to create

I have been assured by men long practised in business, that the secrets of court are much fewer than we generally suppose, and I hold it for the greatest secret of the court, that they are so. because the first springs of great events, like those of rivers, are so often mean and so little, that in

decency they ought to be hid and therefore ministers are so wise to leave their proceedings to be accounted for by reasoners at a distance, who often mould them into systems, that do not only go down very well in the coffeehouse, but
5 are supplies for pamphlets in the present age, and may probably furnish materials for memoirs and histories in the next

It is true, indeed, that even those who are very near the court, and are supposed to have a large share in the manage-
10 ment of public matters, are apt to deduce wrong consequences, by reasoning upon the causes and motives of those actions, wherein themselves are employed. A great minister puts you a case, and asks your opinion, but conceals an essential circumstance, upon which the whole
15 weight of the matter turns, then he despises your understanding for counselling him no better, and concludes he ought to trust entirely to his own wisdom. Thus he grows to abound in secrets and reserves, even towards those with whom he ought to act in the greatest confidence and con-
20 cert and thus the world is brought to judge, that whatever be the issue and event, it was all foreseen, contrived, and brought to pass by some masterstroke of his politics

I could produce innumerable instances, from my own memory and observation, of events imputed to the profound
25 skill and address of a minister, which in reality were either the mere effects of negligence, weakness, humour, passion, or pride, or, at best, but the natural course of things left to themselves

During this very session of parliament, a most ingenious
30 gentleman, who has much credit with those in power, would needs have it, that, in the late dissensions at court, which grew too high to be any longer a secret, the whole matter was carried with the utmost dexterity on one side, and with manifest ill conduct on the other. To prove this, he made

use of the most plausible topics, drawn from the nature and disposition of the several persons concerned, as well as of her majesty, all which he knows as much of as any man and gave me a detail of the whole with such an appearance of probability, as, committed to writing, would pass for an admirable piece of secret history Yet I am at the same time convinced by the strongest reasons, that the issue of those dissensions, as to the part they had in the court and the House of Lords, was partly owing to very different causes, and partly to the situation of affairs, whence, in that conjuncture, they could not easily terminate otherwise than they did, whatever unhappy consequences they may have for the future

In like manner, I have heard a physician pronounce with great gravity, that he had cured so many patients of malignant fevers, and as many more of the small-pox, whereas, in truth, nine parts in ten of those who recovered owed their lives to the strength of nature and a good constitution, while such a one happened to be their doctor

But, while it is so difficult to learn the springs and motives of some facts, and so easy to forget the circumstances of others, it is no wonder they should be so grossly misrepresented to the public by curious inquisitive heads, who proceed altogether upon conjectures, and, in reasoning upon affairs of state, are sure to be mistaken by searching too deep And as I have known this to be the frequent error of many others, so I am sure it has been perpetually mine, whenever I have attempted to discover the causes of political events by refinement and conjecture, which, I must acknowledge, has very much abated my veneration for what they call *arcana imperii*, whereof I dare pronounce, that the fewer there are in any administration, it is just so much the better

What I have hitherto said has by no means been intended

to detract from the qualities requisite in those who are trusted with the administration of public affairs, on the contrary, I know no station of life, where great abilities and virtues of all kinds are so highly necessary, and where the want of any is so quickly or universally felt. A great minister has no virtue, for which the public may not be the better, nor any defect, by which the public is not certainly a sufferer. I have known more than once or twice within four years past, an omission, in appearance very small, prove almost fatal to a whole scheme, and very hardly retrieved. It is not always sufficient for the person at the helm that he is intrepid in his nature, free from any tincture of avarice or corruption, and that he has great natural and acquired abilities.

I never thought the reputation of much secrecy was a character of any advantage to a minister, because it put all other men upon their guard to be as secret as he, and was consequently the occasion that persons and things were always misrepresented to him. because likewise too great an affectation of secrecy is usually thought to be attended with those little intrigues and refinements, which, among the vulgar, denominate a man a great politician, but among others, is apt, whether deservedly or not, to acquire the opinion of cunning. a talent, which differs as much from the true knowledge of government, as that of an attorney from an able lawyer. Neither indeed am I altogether convinced, that this habit of multiplying secrets may not be carried on so far as to stop that communication which is necessary, in some degree, among all who have any considerable part in the management of public affairs. because I have observed the inconveniences arising from a want of love between those who were to give directions, to have been of as ill consequence as any that could happen from the discovery of secrets. I suppose, when a building is to be

erected, the model may be the contrivance only of one head , and it is sufficient that the under-workmen be ordered to cut stones into certain shapes, and place them in certain positions but the several master-builders must have some general knowledge of the design, without which they can give no orders at all And, indeed, I do not know a greater mark of an able minister, than that of rightly adapting the several faculties of men, nor is any thing more to be lamented, than the impracticableness of doing this in any great degree, under our present circumstances , while so many shut themselves out by adhering to a faction, and while the court is enslaved to the impatience of others, who desire to sell their vote or their interest as dear as they can But whether this has not been submitted to more than was necessary, whether it has not been dangerous in the example, and pernicious in the practice, I will leave to the inquiry of those who can better determine

It may be matter of no little admiration to consider, in some lights, the state of affairs among us for four years past The queen, finding herself and the majority of her kingdom grown weary of the avarice and insolence, the mistaken politics, and destructive principles of her former ministers, calls to the service of the public another set of men, who, by confession of their enemies, had equal abilities at least with their predecessors , whose interest made it necessary for them (although their inclinations had been otherwise) to act upon those maxims which were most agreeable to the constitution in church and state whose birth and patrimonies gave them weight in the nation , and who (I speak of those who were to have the chief part in affairs) had long lived under the strictest bonds of friendship with all these advantages, supported by a vast majority of the landed interest, and the inferior clergy almost to a man, we have several times seen the present administration in the greatest,

distress, and very near the brink of ruin, together with the cause of the church and monarchy committed to their charge, neither does it appear to me at the minute I am now writing, that their power or duration are upon any tolerable foot of security which I do not so much impute to the address and industry of their enemies, as to some failures among themselves, which I think have been full as visible in their causes as their effects

Nothing has given me greater indignation than to behold a ministry, who came in with the advantages I have represented, acting ever since upon the defensive in the House of Lords, with a majority on their side, and, instead of calling others to account, as it was reasonably expected, misspending their time, and losing many opportunities of doing good, because a struggling faction kept them continually in play This courage among the adversaries of the court was inspired into them by various incidents, for every one of which I think the ministers, or (if that was the case) the minister alone is to answer.

For, first, that race of politicians, who, in the cant phrase, are called the *whimsicals*, was never so numerous, or at least so active, as it has been since the great change at court, many of those who pretended wholly to be in with the principles upon which her majesty and her new servants proceeded, either absenting themselves with the utmost indifference, in those conjunctures whereon the whole cause depended, or siding directly with the enemy

I very well remember, when this ministry was not above a year old, there was a little murmuring among such as are called the higher Tories or churchmen, that quicker progress was not made in removing those of the discontented party out of employments. I remember, likewise, the reasonings upon this matter were various, even among many who were allowed to know a good deal of the inside

of the court, some supposed the queen was at first prevailed upon to make that great change, with no other view than that of acting for the future upon a moderating scheme, in order to reconcile both parties, and I believe there might possibly have been some grounds for this supposition. Others conceived the employments were left undisposed of, in order to keep alive the hopes of many more impatient candidates than ever could be gratified. This has since been looked on as a very high strain of politics, and to have succeeded accordingly, because it is the opinion of many, that the numerous pretenders to places would never have been kept in order, if all expectation had been cut off. Others were yet more refined, and thought it neither wise nor safe wholly to extinguish all opposition from the other side, because, in the nature of things, it was absolutely necessary that there should be parties in an English parliament, and a faction already odious to the people might be suffered to continue with less danger than any new one that could arise. To confirm this, it was said, that the majority in the House of Commons was too great on the side of the high-church, and began to form themselves into a body, (by the name of the October Club,) in order to put the ministry under subjection. Lastly, the danger of introducing too great a number of unexperienced men at once into office, was urged as an irrefragable reason for making changes by slow degrees. To discard an able officer from an employment, or part of a commission, where the revenue or trade were concerned, for no other reason but differing in some principles of government, might be of terrible consequence.

However, it is certain that none of these excuses were able to pass among men, who argued only from the principles of general reason. For, first, they looked upon all schemes of comprehension to be as visionary and impossible in the state as in the church. Secondly, while the spirit

raised by the trial of Dr Sacheverell continued in motion, men were not so keen upon coming in themselves, as to see their enemies out, and deprived of all assistance to do mischief and it is urged farther, that this general ambition of
5 hunting after places grew chiefly from seeing them so long undisposed of, and from too general an encouragement by promises to all, who were thought capable of doing either good or hurt Thirdly, the fear of creating another party, in case the present faction were wholly subdued, was, in the
10 opinion of plain men, and in regard to the situation of our affairs, too great a sacrifice of the nation's safety to the genius of politics, considering how much was to be done, and how little time might probably be allowed Besides, the division of a House of Commons into court and country
15 parties, which was the evil they seemed to apprehend, could never be dangerous to a good ministry, who had the true interest and constitution of their country at heart, as for the apprehension of too great a majority in the House of Commons, it appeared to be so vain, that, upon some points
20 of importance, the court was hardly able to procure one And the October Club, which appeared so formidable at first to some politicians, proved in the sequel to be the chief support of those who suspected them It was likewise very well known that the greatest part of those men, whom the
25 former ministry left in possession of employments, were loudly charged with insufficiency or corruption, over and above their obnoxious tenets in religion and government, so that it would have been a matter of some difficulty to make a worse choice beside that the plea for keeping men
30 of factious principles in employment upon the score of their abilities, was thought to be extended a little too far, and construed to take in all employments whatsoever, although many of them required no more abilities than would serve to qualify a gentleman-usher at court. so that this last

excuse for the very slow steps made in disarming the adversaries of the crown, was allowed indeed to have more plausibility, but less truth, than any of the former

I do not here pretend to condemn the counsels or actions of the present ministry their safety and interest are visibly 5 united with those of the public, they are persons of unquestionable abilities, altogether unsuspected of avarice or corruption, and have the advantage to be farther recommended by the dread and hatred of the opposite faction However, it is manifest, that the zeal of their friends has been cool- 10 ing toward them for above two years past they have been frequently deserted or distressed upon the most pressing occasions, and very near giving up in despair their characters have been often treated with the utmost barbarity and injustice, in both houses, by scurrilous and enraged orators , 15 while their nearest friends, and even those who must have a share in their disgrace, never offered a word in their vindication

When I examine with myself what occasions the ministry may have given for this coldness, inconstancy, and discon- 20 tent among their friends, I at the same time recollect the various conjectures, reasonings, and suspicions, which have run so freely for three years past, concerning the designs of the court I do not only mean such conjectures as are born in a coffeehouse, or invented by the malice of a party , but 25 also the conclusions (however mistaken) of wise and good men, whose quality and station fitted them to understand the reason of public proceedings, and in whose power it lay to recommend or disgrace an administration to the people I must therefore take the boldness to assert, that all these 30 discontents, how ruinous soever they may prove in the consequences, have most unnecessarily arisen from the want of a due communication and concert Every man must have a light sufficient for the length of the way he is

appointed to go there is a degree of confidence due to all stations and a petty constable will neither act cheerfully nor wisely, without that share of it which properly belongs to him although the main spring of a watch be out of sight, there is an intermediate communication between it and the smallest wheel, or else no useful motion could be performed This reserved mysterious way of acting upon points, where there appeared not the least occasion for it, and towards persons, who, at least in right of their post, expected a more open treatment, was imputed to some hidden design, which every man conjectured to be the very thing he was most afraid of Those who professed the height of what is called the church principle, suspected that a comprehension was intended wherein the moderate men on both sides might be equally employed Others went farther, and dreaded such a comprehension, as directly tending to bring the old exploded principles and persons once more into play Again, some affected to be uneasy about the succession, and seemed to think there was a view of introducing that person, whatever he is, who pretends to claim the crown by inheritance Others, especially of late, surmised, on the contrary, that the demands of the House of Hanover were industriously fomented by some in power, without the privity of the ——— or ——— Now, although these accusations were too inconsistent to be all of them true, yet they were maliciously suffered to pass, and thereby took off much of that popularity, of which those at the helm stood in need, to support them under the difficulties of a long perplexing negotiation, a daily addition of public debts, and an exhausted treasury

But the effects of this mystical manner of proceeding did not end here for the late dissensions between the great men at court (which have been, for some time past, the public entertainment of every coffeehouse) are said to have

arisen from the same fountain, while, on one side, very great reserve, and certainly very great resentment on the other, if we may believe general report (for I pretend to know no farther) have inflamed animosities to such a height, as to make all reconciliation impracticable. Supposing 5 this to be true, it may serve for a great lesson of humiliation to mankind, to behold the habits and passions of men, otherwise highly accomplished, triumphing over interest, friendship, honour, and their own personal safety, as well as that of their country, and probably of a most gracious 10 prince, who has entrusted it to them. A ship's crew quarrelling in a storm, or while their enemies are within gunshot, is but a faint idea of this fatal infatuation of which, although it be hard to say enough, some people may think perhaps I have already said too much 15

Since this unhappy incident, the desertion of friends, and loss of reputation, have been so great, that I do not see how the ministers could have continued many weeks in their stations, if their opposers of all kinds had agreed about the methods by which they should be ruined and their pre- 20 servation hitherto seems to resemble his, who had two poisons given him together of contrary operations

It may seem very impertinent, in one of my level, to point out to those, who sit at the helm, what course they ought to steer. I know enough of courts to be sensible how mean 25 an opinion great ministers have of most men's understandings to a degree, that, in any other science, would be called the grossest pedantry. However, unless I offer my sentiments in this point, all I have hitherto said will be to no purpose 30

The general wishes and desires of a people are perhaps more obvious to other men than to ministers of state — There are two points of the highest importance, wherein a very great majority of the kingdom appear perfectly hearty

and unanimous First, that the church of England should be preserved entire in all her rights, powers, and privileges, all doctrines relating to government discouraged, which she condemns, all schisms, sects, and heresies discountenanced, 5 and kept under due subjection, as far as consists with the lenity of our constitution, her open enemies (among whom I include at least dissenters of all denominations) not trusted with the smallest degree of civil or military power, and her secret adversaries, under the names of Whigs, low church, 10 republicans, moderation-men, and the like, receive no marks of favour from the crown, but what they should deserve by a sincere reformation

Had this point been steadily pursued in all its parts, for three years past, and asserted as the avowed resolution of 15 the court, there must probably have been an end of faction, which has been able, ever since, with so much vigour to disturb and insult the administration I know very well, that some refiners pretend to argue for the usefulness of parties in such a government as ours, I have said something 20 of this already, and have heard a great many idle wise topics upon the subject But I shall not argue that matter at present I suppose if a man think it necessary to play with a serpent, he will choose one of a kind that is least mischievous; otherwise, although it appears to be crushed, it 25 may have life enough to sting him to death So, I think it is not safe tampering with the present faction, at least in this juncture first, because their principles and practices have been already very dangerous to the constitution in church and state secondly, because they are highly irritated 30 with the loss of their power, full of venom and vengeance, and prepared to execute every thing that rage or malice can suggest but principally, because they have prevailed, by misrepresentations, and other artifices, to make the successor look upon them as the only persons he can trust upon

which account they cannot be too soon or too much disabled neither will England ever be safe from the attempts of this wicked confederacy, until their strength and interests shall be so far reduced, that for the future it shall not be in the power of the crown, although in conjunction with any rich and factious body of men, to choose an ill majority in the House of Commons

One step very necessary to this great work will be, to regulate the army, and chiefly those troops which, in their turns, have the care of her majesty's person, who are most of them fitter to guard a prince under a high court of justice, than seated on the throne The peculiar hand of Providence has hitherto preserved her majesty, encompassed, whether sleeping or travelling, by her enemies but since religion teaches us, that Providence ought not to be tempted, it is ill venturing to trust that precious life any longer to those who, by their public behaviour and discourse, discover their impatience to see it at an end, that they may have liberty to be the instruments of glutting at once the revenge of their patrons and their own It should be well remembered, what a satisfaction these gentlemen (after the example of their betters) were so sanguine to express upon the queen's last illness at Windsor, and what threatenings they used of refusing to obey their general, in case that illness had proved fatal Nor do I think it a want of charity to suspect, that, in such an evil day, an enraged faction would be highly pleased with the power of the sword, and with great connivance leave it so long unsheathed, until they were got rid of their most formidable adversaries In the mean time, it must be a very melancholy prospect, that whenever it shall please God to visit us with this calamity, those who are paid to be defenders of the civil power will stand ready for any acts of violence, that a junto, composed of the greatest enemies to the constitution, shall think fit to enjoin them

The other point of great importance is, the security of the Protestant succession in the House of Hanover, not from any partiality to that illustrious house, farther than as it has had the honour to mingle with the blood royal of England, 5 and is the nearest branch of our regal line reformed from popery. This point has one advantage over the former, that both parties profess to desire the same blessing for posterity, but differ about the means of securing it. Whence it has come to pass, that the Protestant succession, in 10 appearance the desire of the whole nation, has proved the greatest topic of slander, jealousy, suspicion, and discontent.

I have been so curious to ask several acquaintances among the opposite party, whether they, or their leaders, did 15 really suspect there had been ever any design in the ministry to weaken the succession in favour of the Pretender, or of any other person whatsoever. Some of them freely answered in the negative others were of the same opinion, but added, they did not know what might be done in time, and 20 upon farther provocations others again seemed to believe the affirmative, but could never produce any plausible grounds for their belief. I have likewise been assured by a person of some consequence, that, during a very near and constant familiarity with the great men at court for four 25 years past, he never could observe, even in those hours of conversation where there is usually least restraint, that one word ever passed among them to show a dislike to the present settlement although they would sometimes lament, that the false representations of theirs, and the kingdom's 30 enemies, had made some impressions in the mind of the successor. As to my own circle of acquaintance, I can safely affirm that, excepting those who are nonjurors by profession, I have not met with above two persons who appeared to have any scruples concerning the present

limitation of the crown I therefore think it may very impartially be pronounced, that the number of those, who wish to see the son of the abdicated prince upon the throne, is altogether inconsiderable And farther, I believe it will be found, that there are none who so much dread any 5 attempt he shall make for the recovery of his imagined rights as the Roman Catholics of England ; who love their freedom and properties too well to desire his entrance by a French army, and a field of blood , who must continue upon the same foot, if he changes his religion, and must expect 10 to be the first and greatest sufferers, if he should happen to fail.

As to the person of this nominal prince, he lies under all manner of disadvantages , the vulgar imagine him to have been a child imposed upon the nation by the fraudulent 15 zeal of his parents, and their bigoted counsellors , who took special care, against all the rules of common policy, to educate him in their hateful superstition, sucked in with his milk, and confirmed in his manhood, too strongly to be now shaken by Mr Lesley , and a counterfeit conversion 20 will be too gross to pass upon the kingdom, after what we have seen and suffered from the like practice in his father. He is likewise said to be of weak intellectuals, and an unsound constitution , he was treated contemptibly enough by the young princes of France, even during the war , is 25 now wholly neglected by that crown, and driven to live in exile upon a small exhibition , he is utterly unknown in England, which he left in the cradle , his father's friends are most of them dead, the rest antiquated or poor Six and twenty years have almost past since the Revolution, and 30 the bulk of those who are now most in action either at court, in parliament, or public offices, were then boys at school or the universities, and look upon that great change to have happened during a period of time for which they are not

accountable The logic of the highest Tories is now, that this was the establishment they found, as soon as they arrived at a capacity of judging, that they had no hand in turning out the late king, and therefore had no crime to answer for, if it were any, that the inheritance to the crown is fixed in pursuance of laws made ever since their remembrance, by which all papists are excluded, and they have no other rule to go by, that they will no more dispute King William the Third's title than King William the First's, since they must have recourse to history for both, that they have been instructed in the doctrines of passive obedience, non-resistance, and hereditary right, and find them all necessary for preserving the present establishment in church and state, and for continuing the succession in the house of Hanover, and must in their own opinion renounce all those doctrines by setting up any other title to the crown This, I say, seems to be the political creed of all the high principled men I have for some time met with of forty years old and under, which, although I do not pretend to justify in every part, yet I am sure it sets the Protestant succession upon a much firmer foundation, than all the indigested schemes of those who profess to act upon what they call Revolution principles

Neither should it perhaps be soon forgotten, that, during the greatest licentiousness of the press, while the sacred character of the queen was every day insulted in factious papers and ballads, not the least reflecting insinuation ever appeared against the Hanover family, whatever occasion was offered to intemperate pens, by the rashness or indiscretion of one or two ministers from thence

From all these considerations, I must therefore lay it down as an incontestable truth, that the succession to these kingdoms in the illustrious house of Hanover is as firmly secured as the nature of the thing can possibly admit; by

the oaths of all those who are entrusted with any office, by the very principles of those who are termed the high church, by the general inclinations of the people, by the insignificance of that person who claims it from inheritance, and the little assistance he can expect either from princes abroad, 5 or adherents at home

However, since the virulent opposers of the queen and her administration have so far prevailed by their emissaries at the court of Hanover, and by their practices upon one or two ignorant unmannerly messengers from thence, as to 10 make the elector desire some farther security, and send over a memorial here to that end, the great question is, how to give reasonable satisfaction to his highness, and (what is infinitely of greater consequence) at the same time consult the honour and safety of the queen, whose quiet 15 possession is of much more consequence to us of the present age, than his reversion The substance of his memorial, if I retain it right, is, to desire that some one of his family might live in England, with such a maintenance as is usual to those of the royal blood, and that certain titles should be 20 conferred upon the rest, according to ancient custom The memorial does not specify which of the family should be invited to reside here, and if it had, I believe, however, her majesty would have looked upon it as a circumstance left to her own choice 25

But, as all this is most manifestly unnecessary in itself, and only in compliance with the mistaken doubts of a presumptive heir, so the nation would (to speak in the language of Mr Steele) expect, that her majesty should be made perfectly easy from that side for the future; no more to be 30 alarmed with apprehensions of visits, or demands of writs, where she has not thought fit to give any invitation The nation would likewise expect, that there should be an end of all private commerce between that court, and the leaders

of a party here , and that his electoral highness should declare himself entirely satisfied with all her majesty's proceedings, her treaties of peace and commerce, her alliances abroad, her choice of ministers at home, and particularly in
5 her most gracious condescensions to his request that he would upon all proper occasions, and in the most public manner, discover his utter dislike of factious persons and principles, but especially of that party, which, under the pretence or shelter of his protection, has so long disquieted
10 the kingdom and lastly, that he would acknowledge the goodness of the queen, and justice of the nation, in so fully securing the succession to his family

It is indeed a problem which I could never comprehend, why the court of Hanover, who have all along thought
15 themselves so perfectly secure in the affections, the principles, and the professions of the low church party, should not have endeavoured, according to the usual politics of princes, to gain over those who are represented as their enemies ; since these supposed enemies had made so many advances,
20 were in possession of all the power, had framed the very settlement to which that illustrious family owes its claim , had all of them abjured the Pretender ; were now employed in the great offices of state, and composed a majority in both houses of parliament Not to mention, that the queen
25 herself, with the bulk of the landed gentry and commonalty throughout the kingdom, were of the number This, one would think, might be a strength sufficient not only to obstruct, but to bestow a succession and since the presumed heir could not but be perfectly secure of the other
30 party, whose greatest avowed grievance was the pretended danger of his future rights , it must therefore surely have been worth his while, to have made at least one step toward cultivating a fair correspondence with the power in possession Neither could those, who are called his friends, have

blamed him, or with the least decency enter into any engagements for defeating his title

But why might not the reasons of this proceeding in the elector be directly contrary to what is commonly imagined? Methinks I could endeavour to believe, that his highness is 5 thoroughly acquainted with both parties, is convinced, that no true member of the church of England can easily be shaken in his principles of loyalty, or forget the obligation of an oath, by any provocation That these are therefore the people he intends to rely upon, and keeps only fair with 10 the others, from a true notion he has of their doctrines, which prompt them to forget their duty upon every motive of interest or ambition If this conjecture be right, his highness cannot sure but entertain a very high esteem of such ministers, who continue to act under the dread and 15 appearance of a successor's utmost displeasure, and the threats of an enraged faction, whom he is supposed alone to favour, and to be guided entirely in his judgment of British affairs and persons by their opinions

But to return from this digression the presence of that 20 infant prince among us could not, I think, in any sort, be inconsistent with the safety of the queen, he would be in no danger of being corrupted in his principles, or exposed in his person by vicious companions, he could be at the head of no factious clubs and cabals, nor be attended by a 25 hired rabble, which his flatterers might represent as popularity. He would have none of that impatience which the frailty of human nature gives to expecting heirs There would be no pretence for men to make their court, by affecting German modes and refinements in dress or 30 behaviour: nor would there be any occasion of insinuating to him how much more his levee was frequented than the antechamber of St James's Add to all this, the advantages of being educated in our religion, laws, language, manners,

nature of government, each so very different from those he would leave behind By which likewise he might be highly useful to his father, if that prince should happen to survive her majesty

5 The late King William, who, after his marriage with the Lady Mary of England, could have no probable expectation of the crown, and very little even of being a queen's husband, (the Duke of York having a young wife,) was no stranger to our language or manners, and went often to the chapel of
10 his princess, which I observe the rather, because I could heartily wish the like disposition were in another court, and because it may be disagreeable to a prince to take up new doctrines on a sudden, or speak to his subjects by an interpreter

15 An ill-natured or inquisitive man may still, perhaps, desire to press the question farther, by asking what is to be done, in case it should so happen, that this malevolent working party at home has credit enough with the court of Hanover to continue the suspicion, jealousy, and uneasiness there, against
20 the queen and her ministry, to make such demands be still insisted on, as are by no means thought proper to be complied with, and in the mean time to stand at arm's length with her majesty, and in close conjunction with those who oppose her

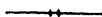
25 I take the answer to be easy in all contests, the safest way is to put those we dispute with as much in the wrong as we can When her majesty shall have offered such, or the like concessions, as I have above mentioned, in order to remove those scruples artificially raised in the mind of the
30 expectant heir, and to divide him from that faction by which he is supposed to have been misled, she has done as much as any prince can do, and more than any other would probably do in her case, and will be justified before God and man, whatever be the event. The equitable part of those

who now side against the court will probably be more temperate, and if a due dispatch be made in placing the civil and military power in the hands of such as wish well to the constitution, it cannot be any way for the quiet or interest of a successor to gratify so small a faction, as will probably 5 then remain, at the expense of a much more numerous and considerable part of his subjects. Neither do I see how the principles of such a party, either in religion or government, will prove very agreeable, because I think Luther and Calvin seem to have differed as much as any two among the 10 reformers and because a German prince will probably be suspicious of those who think they can never depress the prerogative enough.

But supposing, once for all, as far as possible, that the elector should utterly refuse to be upon any terms of con- 15 fidence with the present ministry, and all others of their principles, as enemies to him and the succession, nor easy with the queen herself, but upon such conditions as will not be thought consistent with her safety and honour, and continue to place all his hopes and trust in the discontented 20 party, I think it were humbly to be wished, that whenever the succession shall take place, the alterations intended by the new prince should be made by himself, and not by his deputies because I am of opinion, that the clause empowering the successor to appoint a latent, unlimited number, 25 additional to the seven regents named in the act, went upon a supposition that the secret committee would be of such, whose enmity and contrary principles disposed them to confound the rest. King William, whose title was much more controverted than that of her majesty's successor can ever 30 probably be, did, for several years, leave the administration of the kingdom in the hands of lords justices, during the height of a war, and while the abdicated prince himself was frequently attempting an invasion whence one might

- imagine, that the regents appointed by parliament, upon the demise of the crown, would be able to keep the peace during an absence of a few weeks without any colleagues. However, I am pretty confident that the only reason, why
5 a power was given of choosing dormant viceroys, was to take away all pretence of a necessity to invite over any of the family here, during her majesty's life. So that I do not well apprehend what arguments the elector can use to insist upon both
- 10 To conclude the only way of securing the constitution in church and state, and consequently this very Protestant succession itself, will be by lessening the power of our domestic adversaries as much as can possibly consist with the lenity of our government, and if this be not speedily
15 done, it will be easy to point where the nation is to fix the blame. for we are well assured, that since the account her majesty received of the cabals, the triumphs, the insolent behaviour of the whole faction during her late illness at Windsor, she has been as willing to see them deprived of
20 all power to do mischief, as any of her most zealous and loyal subjects can desire

TRACTS ON RELIGION



I

AN ARGUMENT

TO PROVE THAT

THE ABOLISHING OF CHRISTIANITY IN ENGLAND

MAY, AS THINGS NOW STAND, BE ATTENDED WITH SOME INCON-
VENIENCES, AND PERHAPS NOT PRODUCE THOSE MANY
GOOD EFFECTS PROPOSED THEREBY

WRITTEN IN THE YEAR 1708

THE following tract was written when Swift was in England on the last visit preceding that memorable and long one, during which he became the fast ally of the Tory ministry. He was still in nominal alliance with the Whigs, but the rupture which was soon brought about by the scant attention paid by the Whigs to the claims of the Church was already threatened, and in later days Swift looked back upon this and some other tracts published with the same intention, and about the same time, as clear proofs that his allegiance to the Whig party was already shattered, and he asserts distinctly that they were written as avowed attacks upon the views that were current amongst those upon whose support that party relied. His biographer, Sheridan, who had full opportunities for knowing Swift's own theory, appeals to these tracts as proof positive that Swift changed sides, not from any motive of personal disappointment, but because he recognized and detested the spirit with which that Party was animated towards the Church. Without too nice a calculation of dates, we may safely accept Swift's own view. The opinions which

he combats, and the tone of contempt which he assumes towards them, are precisely those opinions which he detested from his heart, and precisely that tone of contempt which he dealt out towards the complacent assumptions of free thinking and latitudinarianism, alike in theology and literature, throughout his life

Of these tracts, the most characteristic in style and treatment is that which is here presented. But it must be read in connexion with others, which are more serious in tone. One is *A Project for the Advancement of Religion*, in which he proposes to revive religion, as a restraining influence upon immorality, by the very direct intervention of the law and its administration. One sentence shows its intention and tone. He has urged how much might be done for religion and morality by 'a pious, active Prince, with a steady resolution.' 'Neither,' he proceeds, 'am I aware of any objections to be raised against what I have advanced unless it should be thought, that making religion a necessary step to interest and favour might increase hypocrisy amongst us and I readily believe it would.' The contempt implied in this admission, coupled with the reiterated insistence in his proposals, epitomizes the cynicism of Swift's view of human nature. Another tract, still more serious and argumentative, *The Sentiments of a Church-of-England-man with respect to Religion and Government*, was also written in 1708, and sets forth even more clearly the grounds of Swift's inherent dissent from the views current amongst the Whigs

I AM very sensible what a weakness and presumption it is, to reason against the general humour and disposition of the world. I remember it was with great justice, and a due regard to the freedom both of the public and the press, forbidden upon several penalties to write, or discourse, or lay wagers against the Union even before it was confirmed by Parliament, because that was looked upon as a design, to oppose the current of the people, which besides the folly of it, is a manifest breach of the fundamental law that makes this majority of opinion the voice of God. In like manner, and for the very same reasons, it may perhaps be neither safe nor prudent to argue against the abolishing of Christianity at a juncture when all parties seem so unanimously determined upon the point, as we cannot but

allow from their actions, their discourses, and their writings. However, I know not how, whether from the affectation of singularity, or the perverseness of human nature, but so it unhappily falls out, that I cannot be entirely of this opinion. Nay, though I were sure an order were issued for my 5 immediate prosecution by the Attorney-General, I should still confess that in the present posture of our affairs at home or abroad, I do not yet see the absolute necessity of extirpating the Christian religion from among us.

This perhaps may appear too great a paradox even for 10 our wise and paradoxical age to endure; therefore I shall handle it with all tenderness, and with the utmost deference to that great and profound majority which is of another sentiment.

And yet the curious may please to observe, how much 15 the genius of a nation is liable to alter in half an age. I have heard it affirmed for certain by some very old people, that the contrary opinion was even in their memories as much in vogue as the other is now. And, that a project for the abolishing of Christianity would then have appeared as 20 singular, and been thought as absurd, as it would be at this time to write or discourse in its defence.

Therefore I freely own, that all appearances are against me. The system of the gospel, after the fate of other systems, is generally antiquated and exploded, and the 25 mass or body of the common people, among whom it seems to have had its latest credit, are now grown as much ashamed of it as their betters, opinions, like fashions, always descending from those of quality to the middle sort, and thence to the vulgar, where at length they are dropped 30 and vanish.

But here I would not be mistaken, and must therefore be so bold as to borrow a distinction from the writers on the other side, when they make a difference between nominal

and real Trinitarians I hope no reader imagines me so weak to stand up in the defence of real Christianity, such as used, in primitive times, (if we may believe the authors of those ages) to have an influence upon men's belief and
5 actions to offer at the restoring of that, would indeed be a wild project, it would be to dig up foundations, to destroy, at one blow, all the wit, and half the learning, of the kingdom, to break the entire frame and constitution of things, to ruin trade, extinguish arts and sciences, with the professors of them, in short, to turn our courts, exchanges,
10 and shops, into deserts, and would be full as absurd as the proposal of Horace, where he advises the Romans, all in a body, to leave their city, and seek a new seat in some remote part of the world, by way of cure for the corruption
15 of their manners

Therefore I think this caution was in itself altogether unnecessary, (which I have inserted only to prevent all possibility of cavilling) since every candid reader will easily understand my discourse to be intended only in defence of
20 nominal Christianity, the other having been for some time wholly laid aside by general consent, as utterly inconsistent with our present schemes of wealth and power

But why we should therefore cast off the name and title of Christians, although the general opinion and resolution
25 be so violent for it, I confess I cannot (with submission) apprehend, nor is the consequence necessary. However, since the undertakers propose such wonderful advantages to the nation by this project, and advance many plausible objections against the system of Christianity, I shall briefly
30 consider the strength of both, fairly allow them their greatest weight, and offer such answers as I think most reasonable. After which I will beg leave to shew, what inconveniences may possibly happen by such an innovation, in the present posture of our affairs

First, one great advantage proposed by the abolishing of Christianity, is, that it would very much enlarge and establish liberty of conscience, that great bulwark of our nation, and of the protestant religion, which is still too much limited by priestcraft, notwithstanding all the good intentions of the legislature, as we have lately found by a severe instance. For it is confidently reported, that two young gentlemen of real hopes, bright wit, and profound judgment, who, upon a thorough examination of causes and effects, and by the mere force of natural abilities, without the least tincture of learning, having made a discovery that there was no God, and generously communicating their thoughts for the good of the public, were some time ago, by an unparalleled severity, and upon I know not what obsolete law, broke for blasphemy. And as it has been wisely observed, if persecution once begins, no man alive knows how far it may reach, or where it will end.

In answer to all which, with deference to wiser judgments, I think this rather shews the necessity of a nominal religion among us. Great wits love to be free with the highest objects, and if they cannot be allowed a God to revile or renounce, they will speak evil of dignities, abuse the government, and reflect upon the ministry, which I am sure few will deny to be of much more pernicious consequence, according to the saying of Tiberius, *deorum offensa dus cura*. As to the particular fact related, I think it is not fair to argue from one instance, perhaps another cannot be produced yet (to the comfort of all those who may be apprehensive of persecution) blasphemy, we know, is freely spoken a million of times in every coffeehouse and tavern, or wherever else good company meet. It must be allowed, indeed, that to break an English free-born officer, only for blasphemy, was, to speak the gentlest of such an action, a very high strain of absolute power. Little can be said in excuse for

the general, perhaps he was afraid it might give offence to the allies, among whom, for aught we know, it may be the custom of the country to believe a God. But if he argued, as some have done, upon a mistaken principle, that an officer who is guilty of speaking blasphemy, may some time or other proceed so far as to raise a mutiny, the consequence is by no means to be admitted, for surely the commander of an English army is likely to be but ill obeyed, whose soldiers fear and reverence him as little as they do a
 10 Deity

It is farther objected against the gospel system, that it obliges men to the belief of things too difficult for free-thinkers, and such who have shaken off the prejudices that usually cling to a confined education. To which I answer,
 15 that men should be cautious how they raise objections, which reflect upon the wisdom of the nation. Is not every body freely allowed to believe whatever he pleases, and to publish his belief to the world whenever he thinks fit, especially if it serves to strengthen the party which is in the
 20 right? Would any indifferent foreigner, who should read the trumpery lately written by Asgill, Tindal, Toland, Coward, and forty more, imagine the gospel to be our rule of faith, and confirmed by parliaments? Does any man either believe, or say he believes, or desire to have it
 25 thought that he says he believes, one syllable of the matter? And is any man worse received upon that score, or does he find his want of nominal faith a disadvantage to him, in the pursuit of any civil or military employment? What if there be an old dormant statute or two against him, are they not
 30 now obsolete to a degree, that Empson and Dudley themselves, if they were now alive, would find it impossible to put them in execution?

It is likewise urged, that there are, by computation, in this kingdom, above ten thousand parsons, whose revenues

adde^d to those of my lords the bishops, would suffice to maintain at least two hundred young gentlemen of wit and pleasure, and freethinking, enemies to priestcraft, narrow principles, pedantry, and prejudices, who might be an ornament to the court and town and then again, so great 5 a number of able (bodied) divines, might be a recruit to our fleet and armies This indeed appears to be a consideration of some weight but then, on the other side, several things deserve to be considered likewise as first, whether it may not be thought necessary, that in certain tracts of country, 10 like what we call parishes, there shall be one man at least of abilities to read and write Then it seems a wrong computation, that the revenues of the church throughout this island, would be large enough to maintain two hundred young gentlemen, or even half that number, after the present 15 refined way of living, that is, to allow each of them such a rent, as, in the modern form of speech, would make them easy But still there is in this project a greater mischief behind, and we ought to beware of the woman's folly, who killed the hen, that every morning laid her a golden egg 20 For, pray what would become of the race of men in the next age, if we had nothing to trust to beside the scrofulous, consumptive productions, furnished by our men of wit and pleasure, when, having squandered away their vigour, health, and estates, they are forced, by some disagreeable marriage, 25 to piece up their broken fortunes, and entail rottenness and politeness on their posterity? Now, here are ten thousand persons reduced, by the wise regulations of Henry the Eighth, to the necessity of a low diet, and moderate exercise, who are the only great restorers of our breed, without which 30 the nation would, in an age or two, become one great hospital.

Another advantage proposed by the abolishing of Christianity, is, the clear gain of one day in seven, which is now

entirely lost, and consequently the kingdom one seventh less considerable in trade, business, and pleasure, beside the loss to the public of so many stately structures, now in the hands of the clergy, which might be converted into
5 play-houses, market-houses, exchanges, common dormitories, and other public edifices

I hope I shall be forgiven a hard word, if I call this a perfect *cavil*. I readily own there has been an old custom, time out of mind, for people to assemble in the churches
10 every Sunday, and that shops are still frequently shut, in order, as it is conceived, to preserve the memory of that ancient practice, but how this can prove a hindrance to business or pleasure, is hard to imagine. What if the men of pleasure are forced, one day in the week, to game at
15 home instead of the chocolatehouses? are not the taverns and coffeehouses open? can there be a more convenient season for taking a dose of physic? is not that the chief day for traders to sum up the accounts of the week, and for lawyers to prepare their briefs? But I would fain know,
20 how it can be pretended, that the churches are misapplied? where are more appointments and rendezvouses of gallantry? where more care to appear in the foremost box, with greater advantage of dress? where more meetings for business? where more bargains driven of all sorts? and where so many
25 conveniences or enticements to sleep?

There is one advantage, greater than any of the foregoing, proposed by the abolishing of Christianity, that it will utterly extinguish parties among us, by removing those factious distinctions of high and low church, of whig and tory,
30 presbyterian and church of England, which are now so many grievous clogs upon public proceedings, and are apt to dispose men to prefer the gratifying of themselves, or depressing of their adversaries, before the most important interest of the state.

I confess, if it were certain, that so great an advantage would redound to the nation by this expedient, I would submit and be silent, but will any man say, that if the words *whoring, drinking, cheating, lying, stealing*, were, by act of parliament, ejected out of the English tongue and dictionaries, we should all awake next morning chaste and temperate, honest and just, and lovers of truth? Is this a fair consequence? Or, if the physicians would forbid us to pronounce the words *gout, rheumatism, and stone*, would that expedient serve, like so many talismans, to destroy the diseases themselves? Are party and faction rooted in men's hearts no deeper than phrases borrowed from religion, or founded upon no firmer principles? And is our language so poor, that we cannot find other terms to express them? Are *envy, pride, avarice, and ambition* such ill nomenclators, that they cannot furnish appellations for their owners? Will not *heydukes and mamalukes, mandarins, and patshaws*, or any other words formed at pleasure, serve to distinguish those who are in the ministry, from others, who would be in it if they could? What, for instance, is easier than to vary the form of speech, and instead of the word church, make it a question in politics, whether the Monument be in danger? Because religion was nearest at hand to furnish a few convenient phrases, is our invention so barren, we can find no other? Suppose, for argument sake, that the tories favoured Marganta, the whigs Mrs Tofts, and the trimmers Valentini, would not *Margaritians, Toftians, and Valentinians* be very tolerable marks of distinction? The *Prasini* and *Veneti*, two most virulent factions in Italy, began (if I remember right) by a distinction of colours in ribbons, and we might contend with as good a grace about the dignity of the blue and the green, which would serve as properly to divide the court, the parliament, and the kingdom, between them, as any terms of art whatsoever, borrowed from religion And

therefore, I think, there is little force in this objection against Christianity, or prospect of so great an advantage, as is proposed in the abolishing of it

It is again objected, as a very absurd, ridiculous custom, 5 that a set of men should be suffered, much less employed and hired, to bawl one day in seven against the lawfulness of those methods most in use, toward the pursuit of greatness, riches, and pleasure, which are the constant practice of all men alive on the other six But this objection is, 10 I think, a little unworthy of so refined an age as ours Let us argue this matter calmly I appeal to the breast of any polite freethinker, whether, in the pursuit of gratifying a predominant passion, he has not always felt a wonderful incitement, by reflecting it was a thing forbidden and, therefore, 15 we see, in order to cultivate this taste, the wisdom of the nation has taken special care, that the ladies should be furnished with prohibited silks, and the men with prohibited wine And, indeed, it were to be wished, that some other prohibitions were promoted, in order to improve the pleasures of the town, which, for want of such expedients, begin 20 already, as I am told, to flag and grow languid, giving way daily to cruel inroads from the spleen

It is likewise proposed as a great advantage to the public, that if we once discard the system of the gospel, all religion 25 will of course be banished for ever, and consequently, along with it, those grievous prejudices of education, which, under the names of *virtue*, *conscience*, *honour*, *justice*, and the like, are so apt to disturb the peace of human minds, and the notions whereof are so hard to be eradicated, by 30 right reason, or freethinking, sometimes during the whole course of our lives

Here first I observe, how difficult it is to get rid of a phrase, which the world is once grown fond of, though the occasion that first produced it, be entirely taken away For

several years past, if a man had but an ill-favoured nose, the deep-thinkers of the age would, some way or other, contrive to impute the cause to the prejudice of his education. From this fountain were said to be derived all our foolish notions of justice, piety, love of our country, all our opinions of 5 God, or a future state, Heaven, Hell, and the like and there might formerly perhaps have been some pretence for this charge. But so effectual care has been taken to remove those prejudices, by an entire change in the methods of education, that (with honour I mention it to our polite 10 innovators) the young gentlemen, who are now on the scene, seem to have not the least tincture left of those infusions, or string of those weeds and, by consequence, the reason for abolishing nominal Christianity upon that pretext, is wholly ceased

15

For the rest, it may perhaps admit a controversy, whether the banishing of all notions of religion whatsoever, would be convenient for the vulgar. Not that I am in the least of opinion with those, who hold religion to have been the invention of politicians, to keep the lower part of the world in 20 awe, by the fear of invisible powers, unless mankind were then very different to what it is now for I look upon the mass or body of our people here in England, to be as free-thinkers, that is to say, as staunch unbelievers, as any of the highest rank. But I conceive some scattered notions about 25 a superior power, to be of singular use for the common people, as furnishing excellent materials to keep children quiet when they grow peevish, and providing topics of amusement, in a tedious winter-night

Lastly, it is proposed, as a singular advantage, that the 30 abolishing of Christianity will very much contribute to the uniting of protestants, by enlarging the terms of communion, so as to take in all sorts of dissenters, who are now shut out of the pale, upon account of a few ceremonies, which all

sides confess to be things indifferent, that this alone will effectually answer the great ends of a scheme for comprehension, by opening a large noble gate, at which all bodies may enter, whereas the chaffering with dissenters, 5 and dodging about this or the other ceremony, is but like opening a few wickets, and leaving them at jar, by which no more than one can get in at a time, and that, not without stooping, and sideling, and squeezing his body

To all this I answer, that there is one darling inclination 10 of mankind, which usually affects to be a retainer to religion, though she be neither its parent, its godmother, or its friend, I mean the spirit of opposition, that lived long before Christianity, and can easily subsist without it Let us, for instance, examine wherein the opposition of sectaries among 15 us consists, we shall find Christianity to have no share in it at all Does the gospel any where prescribe a starched, squeezed countenance, a stiff, formal gait, a singularity of manners and habit, or any affected modes of speech, different from the reasonable part of mankind? Yet, if Christianity did not lend its name to stand in the gap, and to 20 employ or divert these humours, they must of necessity be spent in contraventions to the laws of the land, and disturbance of the public peace There is a portion of enthusiasm assigned to every nation, which, if it has not proper objects 25 to work on, will burst out, and set all in a flame If the quiet of a state can be bought, by only flinging men a few ceremonies to devour, it is a purchase no wise man would refuse Let the mastiffs amuse themselves about a sheep's skin stuffed with hay, provided it will keep them from worry- 30 ing the flock The institution of convents abroad, seems, in one point, a strain of great wisdom, there being few irregularities in human passions, that may not have recourse to vent themselves in some of those orders, which are so many retreats for the speculative, the melancholy, the proud, the

silent, the politic, and the morose, to spend themselves, and evaporate the noxious particles, for each of whom, we, in this island, are forced to provide a several sect of religion, to keep them quiet and whenever Christianity shall be abolished, the legislature must find some other expedient 5 to employ and entertain them For what imports it how large a gate you open, if there will be always left a number, who place a pride and a merit in refusing to enter?

Having thus considered the most important objections against Christianity, and the chief advantages proposed by 10 the abolishing thereof, I shall now, with equal deference and submission to wiser judgments, as before, proceed to mention a few inconveniences that may happen, if the gospel should be repealed, which perhaps the projectors may not have sufficiently considered 15

And first, I am very sensible how much the gentlemen of wit and pleasure are apt to murmur, and be choqued at the sight of so many dagged-tail parsons, who happen to fall in their way, and offend their eyes, but, at the same time, these wise reformers do not consider, what an advance 20 and felicity it is, for great wits to be always provided with objects of scorn and contempt, in order to exercise and improve their talents, and divert their spleen from falling on each other, or on themselves, especially when all this may be done, without the least imaginable danger to their 25 persons

And to urge another argument of a parallel nature, if Christianity were once abolished, how could the free-thinkers, the strong reasoners, and the men of profound learning, be able to find another subject, so calculated in 30 all points, whereon to display their abilities? what wonderful productions of wit should we be deprived of, from those, whose genius, by continual practice, has been wholly turned upon railery and invectives against religion, and would there-

fore never be able to shine or distinguish themselves, upon any other subject ! we are daily complaining of the great decline of wit among us, and would we take away the greatest, perhaps the only, topic we have left ? who would
5 ever have suspected Asgil for a wit, or Toland for a philosopher, if the inexhaustible stock of Christianity had not been at hand, to provide them with materials ? what other subject, through all art or nature, could have produced Tindal for a profound author, or furnished him with readers ?
10 it is the wise choice of the subject, that alone adorns and distinguishes the writer For, had a hundred such pens as these been employed on the side of religion, they would have immediately sunk into silence and oblivion

Nor do I think it wholly groundless, or my fears altogether
15 imaginary, that the abolishing Christianity may perhaps bring the church into danger, or at least put the senate to the trouble of another securing vote I desire I may not be misapprehended , I am far from presuming to affirm, or think, that the church is in danger at present, or as things now
20 stand, but we know not how soon it may be so, when the Christian religion is repealed. As plausible as this project seems, there may be a dangerous design lurking under it Nothing can be more notorious, than that the Atheists, Deists, Socinians, Anti-trinitarians, and other subdivisions of free-
25 thinkers, are persons of little zeal for the present ecclesiastical establishment their declared opinion is for repealing the sacramental test , they are very indifferent with regard to ceremonies , nor do they hold the *jus divinum* of episcopacy , therefore this may be intended as one politic step
30 toward altering the constitution of the church established, and setting up presbytery in the stead, which I leave to be farther considered by those at the helm

In the last place, I think nothing can be more plain, than that, by this expedient, we shall run into the evil we chiefly

pretend to avoid and that the abolishment of the Christian religion will be the readiest course we can take to introduce popery And I am the more inclined to this opinion, because we know it has been the constant practice of the jesuits, to send over emissaries, with instructions to per- 5 sonate themselves members of the several prevailing sects among us So it is recorded, that they have at sundry times appeared in the disguise of Presbyterians, Anabaptists, Independents, and Quakers, according as any of these were most in credit, so, since the fashion has been taken up of 10 exploding religion, the popish missionaries have not been wanting to mix with the freethinkers, among whom Toland, the great oracle of the Antichristians, is an Irish priest, the son of an Irish priest, and the most learned and ingenious author of a book, called *The Rights of the Christian* 15 *Church*, was in a proper juncture reconciled to the Romish faith, whose true son, as appears by a hundred passages in his treatise, he still continues Perhaps I could add some others to the number, but the fact is beyond dispute, and the reasoning they proceed by is right for, supposing 20 Christianity to be extinguished, the people will never be at ease till they find out some other method of worship, which will as infallibly produce superstition, as superstition will end in popery

And therefore, if, notwithstanding all I have said, it still 25 be thought necessary to have a bill brought in for repealing Christianity, I would humbly offer an amendment, that instead of the word Christianity, may be put religion in general, which, I conceive, will much better answer all the good ends proposed by the projectors of it For, as long as 30 we leave in being a God and his providence, with all the necessary consequences which curious and inquisitive men will be apt to draw from such premises, we do not strike at the root of the evil, though we should ever so effectually

annihilate the present scheme of the gospel for, of what use is freedom of thought, if it will not produce freedom of action ? which is the sole end, how remote soever in appearance, of all objections against Christianity, and therefore, 5 the freethinkers consider it as a sort of edifice, wherein all the parts have such a mutual dependence on each other, that if you happen to pull out one single nail, the whole fabric must fall to the ground This was happily expressed by him, who had heard of a text brought for proof of the 10 Trinity, which in an ancient manuscript was differently read, he thereupon immediately took the hint, and by a sudden deduction of a long *sortes*, most logically concluded, ' Why, if it be as you say, I may safely sin and drink on, and defy the parson ' From which, and many the like in- 15 stances easy to be produced, I think nothing can be more manifest, than that the quarrel is not against any particular points of hard digestion in the Christian system, but against religion in general, which, by laying restraints on human nature, is supposed the great enemy to the freedom of 20 thought and action

Upon the whole, if it shall still be thought for the benefit of church and state, that Christianity be abolished, I conceive, however, it may be more convenient to defer the execution to a time of peace, and not venture, in this con- 25 juncture, to disoblige our allies, who, as it falls out, are all Christians, and many of them, by the prejudices of their education, so bigoted, as to place a sort of pride in the appellation If upon being rejected by them, we are to trust an alliance with the Turk, we shall find ourselves much deceived for, 30 as he is too remote, and generally engaged in war with the Persian emperor, so his people would be more scandalized at our infidelity, than our Christian neighbours For the Turks are not only strict observers of religious worship, but, what is worse, believe a God, which is more than is

required of us, even while we preserve the name of Christians

To conclude whatever some may think of the great advantages to trade by this favourite scheme, I do very much apprehend, that in six months time after the act is passed 5 for the extirpation of the gospel, the Bank and East India stock may fall at least one *per cent* And since that is fifty times more than ever the wisdom of our age thought fit to venture, *for the preservation of Christianity, there is no reason we should be at so great a loss, merely for the sake 10 of destroying it

II

MR COLLINS'S DISCOURSE

OF

FREETHINKING,

PUT INTO PLAIN ENGLISH BY WAY OF ABSTRACT FOR THE
USE OF THE POOR

BY A FRIEND OF THE AUTHOR

THIS treatise, which repeats the tone of that which just precedes it, was written five years later, in 1713. Swift had long broken with the Whigs, and the suspicion of some of the tenets of that party, which is apparent in the earlier tract, has now deepened into profound and bitter enmity, confirmed by at least four years of open warfare. In after days, Swift looked back upon his earlier tracts on religion as inspired by more decided opposition to the Whigs than he had really avowed when they were written. We, reading them with a more accurate comparison of dates than Swift cared to make in his later years, can readily trace, in the tracts of 1708, a desire to avoid any words that could indicate an open breach, although the beginnings of the quarrel are clearly visible. In this later tract, he makes no attempt to cloak his enmity, and he boldly assumes the character of a Whig as the propounder of those atheistical absurdities, which he wished, as a useful political move, but without any scrupulous regard to fairness, to represent as part and parcel of the tenets of that party. As a fact, some of Collins's most decided opponents were found amongst the Whigs.

INTRODUCTION

OUR party having failed, by all their political arguments, to re-establish their power, the wise leaders have determined that the last and principal remedy should be made use of for opening the eyes of this blinded nation, and that a short, but perfect, system of their divinity should be published, to 5 which we are all of us ready to subscribe, and which we lay down as a model, bearing a close analogy to our schemes in religion. Crafty, designing men, that they might keep the world in awe, have, in their several forms of government, placed a supreme power on earth, to keep human-kind in 10 fear of being hanged, and a supreme power in heaven, for fear of being damned. In order to cure men's apprehensions of the former, several of our learned members have written many profound treatises on anarchy, but a complete body of Atheology seemed yet wanting till this irrefragable dis- 15 course appeared. However, it so happens, that our ablest brethren, in their elaborate disquisitions upon this subject, have written with so much caution, that ignorant unbelievers have edified very little by them. I grant that those daring spirits, who first adventured to write against the direct rules 20 of the gospel, the current of antiquity, the religion of the magistrate, and the laws of the land, had some measures to keep, and particularly when they railed at religion, were in the right to use little artful disguises, by which a jury could only find them guilty of abusing heathenism or popery. But 25 the mystery is now revealed, that there is no such thing as mystery or revelation, and though our friends are out of place and power, yet we may have so much confidence in the present ministry, to be secure, that those who suffer so

many free speeches against their sovereign and themselves, to pass unpunished, will never resent our expressing the freest thoughts against their religion, but think with Tiberius, that, if there be a God, he is able enough to revenge any
5 injuries done to himself, without expecting the civil power to interpose

By these reflections I was brought to think, that the most ingenious author of the *Discourse upon Freethinking*, in a letter to Somebody, esq, although he has used less reserve
10 than any of his predecessors, might yet have been more free and open I considered, that several well-willers to infidelity, might be discouraged by a show of logic, and a multiplicity of quotations, scattered through his book, which, to understandings of that size, might carry an appearance of some-
15 thing like book-learning, and consequently fright them from reading for their improvement I could see no reason why these great discoveries should be hid from our youth of quality, who frequent White's and Tom's, why they should not be adapted to the capacities of the Kit-Cat and Hanover
20 Clubs, who might then be able to read lectures on them to their several toasts and it will be allowed on all hands, that nothing can sooner help to restore our abdicated cause, than a firm universal belief of the principles laid down by this sublime author for I am sensible that nothing would
25 more contribute to 'the continuance of the war,' and the restoration of the late ministry, than to have the doctrines delivered in this treatise well infused into the people I have therefore compiled them into the following Abstract, wherein I have adhered to the very words of our author,
30 only adding some few explanations of my own, where the terms happen to be too learned, and consequently a little beyond the comprehension of those for whom the work was principally intended, I mean the nobility and gentry of our party. after which, I hope, it will be impossible for the

malice of a jacobite, highflying, priestridden faction, to misrepresent us The few additions I have made are for no other use than to help the transition, which could not otherwise be kept in an abstract but I have not presumed to advance anything of my own, which, besides, would be needless to an author who has so fully handled and demonstrated every particular I shall only add, that though this writer, when he speaks of priests, desires chiefly to be understood to mean the English clergy, yet he includes all priests whatsoever, except the ancient and modern heathens, the Turks, Quakers, and Socinians



THE LETTER

SIR,—I send you this apology for Freethinking, without the least hopes of doing good, but purely to comply with your request, for those truths which nobody can deny, will do no good to those who deny them The clergy, who are so impudent to teach the people the doctrines of faith, are all either cunning knaves or mad fools, for none but artificial, designing men, and crack-brained enthusiasts, presume to be guides to others in matters of speculation, which all the doctrines of Christianity are, and whoever has a mind to learn the Christian religion, naturally chooses such knaves and fools to teach them Now the Bible, which contains the precepts of the priests' religion, is the most difficult book in the world to be understood it requires a thorough knowledge in natural, civil, ecclesiastical history, law, husbandry, sailing, physic, pharmacy, mathematics, metaphysics, ethics, and everything else that can be named and everybody who believes it ought to under-

stand it, and must do so by force of his own freethinking, without any guide or instructor

How can a man think at all, if he does not think freely? A man who does not eat and drink freely, does not eat and
5 drink at all. Why may not I be denied the liberty of free-seeing as well as freethinking? Yet nobody pretends that the first is unlawful, for a cat may look on a king, though you be near-sighted, or have weak or sore eyes, or are blind, you may be a freeseer, you ought to see for yourself, and
10 not trust to a guide to choose the colour of your stockings, or save you from falling into a ditch.

In like manner, there ought to be no restraint at all on thinking freely upon any proposition, however impious or absurd. There is not the least hurt in the wickedest
15 thoughts, provided they be free, nor in telling those thoughts to everybody, and endeavouring to convince the world of them, for all this is included in the doctrine of freethinking, as I shall plainly shew you in what follows, and therefore you are all along to understand the word
20 freethinking in this sense

If you are apt to be afraid of the devil, think freely of him, and you destroy him and his kingdom. Freethinking has done him more mischief than all the clergy in the world ever could do. they believe in the devil, they have
25 an interest in him, and therefore are the great supports of his kingdom. The devil was in the States-General before they began to be freethinkers. for England and Holland were formerly the Christian territories of the devil. I told you how he left Holland, and freethinking and the revolution banished him from England, I defy all the clergy to
30 shew me when they ever had such success against him. My meaning is, that to think freely of the devil, is to think there is no devil at all, and he that thinks so, the devil is in him if he be afraid of the devil.

But, within these two or three years, the devil has come into England again, and Dr. Sacheverell has given him commission to appear in the shape of a cat, and carry old women about upon broomsticks, and the devil has now so many 'ministers ordained to his service,' that they have 5 rendered freethinking odious, and nothing but, the second coming of Christ can restore it

The priests tell me, I am to believe the Bible, but freethinking tells me otherwise in many particulars. 'The Bible says, the Jews were a nation favoured by God, but I, who 10 am a freethinker, say, that cannot be, because the Jews lived in a corner of the earth, and freethinking makes it clear that those who live in corners cannot be favourites of God. The New Testament all along asserts the truth of Christianity, but freethinking denies it because Christianity 15 was communicated but to a few, and whatever is communicated but to a few, cannot be true, for that is like whispering, and the proverb says, 'that there is no whispering without lying'

Here is a society in London for propagating freethinking 20 throughout the world, encouraged and supported by the Queen and many others. You say, perhaps, it is for propagating the gospel. Do you think the missionaries we send will tell the heathens that they must not think freely? No, surely, why then, it is manifest, those 25 missionaries must be freethinkers, and make the heathens so too. But why should not the king of Siam, whose religion is heathenism and idolatry, send over a parcel of his priests to convert us to his church, as well as we send missionaries there? Both projects are exactly of a piece, 30 and equally reasonable, and if those heathen priests were here, it would be our duty to hearken to them, and think freely whether they may not be in the right rather than we. I heartily wish a detachment of such divines as Dr. Atter-

bury, Dr Smallridge, Dr Swift, Dr Sacheverell, and some others, were sent every year to the farthest part of the heathen world, and that we had a cargo of their priests in return, who would spread freethinking among us. Then
5 the war would go on, the late ministry be restored, and faction cease, which our priests inflame by haranguing upon texts, and falsely call that 'preaching the gospel'

I have another project in my head, which ought to be put in execution, in order to make us freethinkers. It is a
10 great hardship and injustice, that our priests must not be disturbed while they are prating in the pulpit. For example, why should not William Penn the Quaker, or any Anabaptist, Papist, Muggletonian, Jew, or sweet-singer, have liberty to come into St Paul's church, in the midst of divine service,
15 and endeavour to convert first the alderman, then the preacher, and singing-men? or pray, why might not poor Mr Whiston, who denies the divinity of Christ, be allowed to come into the lower house of convocation, and convert the clergy? But, alas! we are overrun with such false
20 notions, that, if Penn or Whiston should do their duty, they would be reckoned fanatics, and disturbers of the holy synod, although they have as good a title to it as St Paul had to go into the synagogues of the Jews, and their authority is full as divine as his

25 Christ himself commands us to be freethinkers, for he bids us search the scriptures, and take heed what and whom we hear by which he plainly warns us, not to believe our bishops and clergy, for Jesus Christ, when he considered that all the Jewish and heathen priests, whose religion he
30 came to abolish, were his enemies, rightly concluded that those appointed by him to preach his own gospel would probably be so too, and could not be secure that any set of priests, of the faith he delivered, would ever be otherwise therefore it is fully demonstrated that the clergy of the church

of England are mortal enemies to Christ, and ought not to be believed

•But, without the privilege of freethinking, how is it possible to know which is the right scripture? Here are perhaps twenty sorts of scriptures in the several parts of the 5 world, and every set of priests contend that their scripture is the true one. The Indian Bramins have a book of scripture called the Shaster, the Parsees their Zundivastaw; the bonzes in China have theirs, written by the disciples of Fohe, whom they call 'God and Saviour of the world, who 10 was born to teach the way of salvation, and to give satisfaction for all men's sins' which, you see, is directly the same with what our priests pretend of Christ. And must we not think freely, to find out which are in the right, whether the bishops or the bonzes? But the talapouns, 15 or heathen clergy of Siam, approach yet nearer to the system of our priests, they have a book of scripture written by Sommonocodam, who, the Siamese say, was 'born of a virgin,' and was 'the God expected by the universe,' just as our priests tell us, that Jesus Christ was born of the 20 Virgin Mary, and was the Messiah so long expected. The Turkish priests, or dervises, have their scripture which they call the Alcoran. The Jews have the Old Testament for their scripture, and the Christians have both the Old and the New. Now, among all these scriptures, there cannot 25 above one be right, and how is it possible to know which is that, without reading them all, and then thinking freely, every one of us for ourselves, without following the advice or instruction of any guide, before we venture to choose? The parliament ought to be at the charge of finding a 30 sufficient number of these scriptures, for every one of her majesty's subjects, for, there are twenty to one against us, that we may be in the wrong but a great deal of freethinking will at last set us all right, and every one will adhere

to the scripture he likes best , by which means, religion, peace, and wealth, will be for ever secured in her Majesty's realms

And it is the more necessary that the good people of
5 England should have liberty to choose some other scripture, because all Christian priests differ so much about the copies of theirs, and about the various readings of the several manuscripts, which quite destroys the authority of the Bible for what authority can a book pretend to, where there are
10 various readings ? And for this reason, it is manifest that no man can know the opinions of Aristotle or Plato, or believe the facts related by Thucydides or Livy, or be pleased with the poetry of Homer and Virgil, all which books are utterly useless, upon account of their various readings Some books
15 of scripture are said to be lost, and this utterly destroys the credit of those that are left some we reject, which the Africans and Copticks receive , and why may we not think freely, and reject the rest ? Some think the scriptures wholly inspired, some partly , and some not at all Now this is
20 just the very case of the bramins, persees, bonzes, talapoins, dervises, rabbis, and all other priests, who build their religion upon books, as our priests do upon their Bibles They all equally differ about the copies, various readings and inspirations, of their several scriptures , and God knows which
25 are in the right freethinking alone can determine it

It would be endless to shew in how many particulars the priests of the Heathen and Christian churches, differ about the meaning even of those scriptures which they universally receive as sacred But, to avoid prolixity, I shall confine
30 myself to the different opinions among the priests of the church of England , and here only give you a specimen, because even these are too many to be enumerated

I have found out a bishop, (though indeed his opinions are condemned by all his brethren,) who allows the scriptures

to be so difficult, that God has left them rather as a trial of our industry, than a repository of our faith, and furniture of creeds and articles of belief, with several other admirable schemes of freethinking, which you may consult at your leisure

5

The doctrine of the Trinity is the most fundamental point of the whole Christian religion. Nothing is more easy to a freethinker yet what different notions of it do the English priests pretend to deduce from scripture, explaining it by 'specific unities, eternal modes of subsistence,' and the like unintelligible jargon! Nay, it is a question whether this doctrine be fundamental or not, for though Dr South and Bishop Bull affirm it, yet Bishop Taylor and Dr Wallis deny it. And that excellent freethinking prelate Bishop Taylor observes, that Athanasius's example was followed with too much greediness by which means it has happened, that the greater number of our priests are in that sentiment, and think it necessary to believe the Trinity, and incarnation of Christ

Our priests likewise dispute several circumstances about the resurrection of the dead, the nature of our bodies after the resurrection, and in what manner they shall be united to our souls. They also attack one another 'very weakly, with great vigour,' about predestination. And it is certainly true, (for Bishop Taylor and Mr Whiston the Socinian say so,) that all churches in prosperity alter their doctrines every age, and are neither satisfied with themselves nor their own confessions, neither does any clergyman of sense believe the Thirty-nine Articles

Our priests differ about the eternity of hell torments. The famous Dr Henry More, and the most pious and rational of all priests, Dr Tillotson, (both freethinkers,) believe them to be not eternal. They differ about keeping the sabbath, the divine right of episcopacy, and the doctrine

of original sin, which is the foundation of the^d whole Christian religion; for, if men are not liable to be damned for Adam's sin, the Christian religion is an imposture yet this is now disputed among them, so is lay baptism so
5 was formerly the lawfulness of usury, but now the priests are common stock-jobbers, attorneys, and scriveners In short, there is no end of disputing among priests and therefore I conclude, that there ought to be no such thing in the world as priests, teachers, or guides, for instructing
10 ignorant people in religion, but that every man ought to think freely for himself

I will tell you my meaning in all this The priests dispute every point in the Christian religion, as well as almost every text in the Bible, and the force of my argu-
15 ment lies here, that whatever point is disputed by one or two divines, however condemned by the church, not only that particular point, but the whole article to which it relates, may lawfully be received or rejected by any freethinker For instance, suppose More and Tillotson deny the eternity
20 of hell torments, a freethinker may deny all future punishments whatsoever The priests dispute about explaining the Trinity, therefore a freethinker may reject one or two, or the whole three persons, at least, he may reject Christianity, because the Trinity is the most fundamental doctrine
25 of that religion So I affirm original sin, and that men are how liable to be damned for Adam's sin, to be the foundation of the whole Christian religion, but this point was formerly, and is now, disputed, therefore, a freethinker may deny the whole And I cannot help giving you one farther
30 direction, how I insinuate all along, that the wisest free-thinking priests, whom you may distinguish by the epithets I bestow on them, were those who differed most from the generality of their brethren

But, besides, the conduct of our priests in many other

points makes freethinking unavoidable, for, some of them own, that the doctrines of the church are contradictory to one another, as well as to reason, which I thus prove Dr Sacheverell says, in his speech at his trial, 'That, by abandoning passive obedience, we must render ourselves the most inconsistent church in the world,' *ergo*, there must have been a great many inconsistencies and contradictory doctrines in the church before Dr South describes the incarnation of Christ as an astonishing mystery, impossible to be conceived by man's reason, *ergo*, it is contradictory to itself, and to reason, and ought to be exploded by all freethinkers.

Another instance of the priests' conduct, which multiplies freethinkers, is their acknowledgment of abuses, defects, and false doctrines, in the church, particularly that of eating black pudding, which is so plainly forbid in the Old and New Testament, that I wonder those who pretend to believe a syllable in either will presume to taste to Why should I mention the want of discipline, and of a sideboard at the altar, with complaints of other great abuses and defects made by some of the priests, which no man can think on without freethinking, and consequently rejecting Christianity?

When I see an honest freethinking bishop endeavour to destroy the power and privileges of the church, and Dr. Atterbury angry with him for it, and calling it 'dirty work' what can I conclude, by virtue of being a freethinker, but that Christianity is all a cheat?

Mr Whiston has published several tracts, wherein he absolutely denies the divinity of Christ A bishop tells him, 'Sir, in any matter where you have the church's judgment against you, you should be careful not to break the peace of the church, by writing against it, though you are sure you are in the right.' Now my opinion is directly contrary, and I affirm, that if ten thousand freethinkers

thought differently from the received doctrine, and from each other, they would be all in duty bound to publish their thoughts, provided they were all sure of being in the right, though it broke the peace of the church and state ten thousand times.

And here I must take leave to tell you, although you cannot but have perceived it from what I have already said, and shall be still more amply convinced by what is to follow, that freethinking signifies nothing, without free-
10 speaking and freewriting It is the indispensable duty of a freethinker, to endeavour forcing all the world to think as he does, and by that means make them freethinkers too You are also to understand, that I allow no man to be a freethinker, any farther than as he differs from the received
15 doctrines of religion Where a man falls in, though by perfect chance, with what is generally believed, he is in that point a confined and limited thinker, and you shall see by and by, that I celebrate those for the noblest freethinkers in every age, who differed from the religion of their countries
20 in the most fundamental points, and especially in those which bear any analogy to the chief fundamentals of religion among us

Another trick of the priests is, to charge all men with atheism, who have more wit than themselves, which, there-
25 fore, I expect, will be my case for writing this discourse This is what makes them so implacable against Mr Gildon, Dr Tindal, Mr Toland, and myself, and when they call us wits atheists, it provokes us to be freethinkers.

Again the priests cannot agree when their scripture was
30 written They differ about the number of canonical books, and the various readings Now, those few among us who understand Latin, are careful to tell this to our disciples, who presently fall a-freethinking, that the Bible is a book not to be depended upon in anything at all

There is another thing, that mightily spreads freethinking, which, I believe, you would hardly guess. The priests have got a way of late of writing books against freethinking, I mean, treatises in dialogue, where they introduce atheists, deists, sceptics, and Socinians, offering their several arguments. Now these freethinkers are too hard for the priests themselves in their own books. And how can it be otherwise? For, if the arguments usually offered by atheists are fairly represented in these books, they must needs convert everybody that reads them, because atheists, deists, sceptics, and Socinians, have certainly better arguments to maintain their opinions, than any the priests can produce to maintain the contrary.

Mr Creech, a priest, translated Lucretius into English, which is a complete system of atheism, and several young students, who were afterward priests, wrote verses in praise of this translation. The arguments against Providence in that book are so strong, that they have added mightily to the number of freethinkers.

Why should I mention the pious cheats of the priests, who in the New Testament translate the word *ecclesia* sometimes the *church*, and sometimes the *congregation*, and *episcopus*, sometimes a *bishop*, and sometimes an *overseer*? A priest, translating a book, left out a whole passage that reflected on the king, by which he was an enemy to political freethinking, a most considerable branch of our system. Another priest, translating a book of travels, left out a lying miracle, out of mere malice, to conceal an argument for freethinking. In short, these frauds are very common in all books which are published by priests. But, however, I love to excuse them whenever I can. and as to this accusation, they may plead the authority of the ancient fathers of the church, for forgery, corruption, and mangling authors, with more reason than for any of their articles of faith. St

Jerom, St Hilary, Eusebius Vercellensis, Victorinus, and several others, were all guilty of arrant forgery and corruption for, when they translated the works of several freethinkers, whom they called heretics, they omitted all their heresies
5 or freethinkings, and had the impudence to own it to the world

From these many notorious instances of the priests' conduct, I conclude they are not to be relied on in any one thing relating to religion, but that every man must think
10 freely for himself

But to this it may be objected, that the bulk of mankind is as well qualified for flying as thinking, and if every man thought it his duty to think freely, and trouble his neighbour with his thoughts (which is an essential part of freethinking,)
15 it would make wild work in the world I answer, whoever cannot think freely, may let it alone if he pleases, by virtue of his right to think freely, that is to say, if such a man freely thinks that he cannot think freely, of which every man is a sufficient judge, why, then, he need not think freely,
20 unless he thinks fit.

Besides, if the bulk of mankind cannot think freely in matters of speculation, as the being of a God, the immortality of the soul, &c, why, then, freethinking is indeed no duty. but then the priests must allow, that men are not concerned
25 to believe whether there is a God or not But still those who are disposed to think freely, may think freely if they please

It is again objected, that freethinking will produce endless divisions in opinion, and by consequence disorder
30 society To which I answer,

When every single man comes to have a different opinion every day from the whole world, and from himself, by virtue of freethinking, and thinks it his duty to convert every man to his own freethinking, as all we freethinkers do, how can

that possibly create so great a diversity of opinions, as to have a set of priests agree among themselves to teach the same opinions in their several parishes to all who will come to hear them? Besides, if all people were of the same opinion, the remedy would be worse than the disease, I 5 will tell you the reason some other time

Besides, difference in opinion, especially in matters of great moment, breeds no confusion at all Witness papist and protestant, roundhead and cavalier, and whig and tory, now among us I observe, the Turkish empire is more at 10 peace within itself, than Christian principles are with one another. Those noble Turkish virtues of charity and toleration are what contribute chiefly to the flourishing state of that happy monarchy There Christians and Jews are tolerated, and live at ease, if they can hold their tongues 15 and think freely, provided they never set foot within the mosques, nor write against Mahomet A few plunderings now and then by the janissaries are all they have to fear

It is objected, that by freethinking, men will think themselves into atheism, and indeed I have allowed all along, 20 that atheistical books convert men to freethinking. But suppose that to be true, I can bring you two divines, who affirm superstition and enthusiasm to be worse than atheism, and more mischievous to society and in short, it is necessary that the bulk of the people should be atheists or 25 superstitious

It is objected, that priests ought to be relied on by the people, as lawyers and physicians, because it is their faculty I answer, It is true, a man who is no lawyer, is not suffered to plead for himself But every man may be his own quack 30 if he pleases, and he only ventures his life, but in the other case, the priest tells him he must be damned therefore do not trust the priest, but think freely for yourself, and if you happen to think there is no hell, there certainly is none, and

consequently you cannot be damned I answer farther, that wherever there is no lawyer, physician, or priest, the country is paradise Besides, all priests, (except the orthodox, and those are not ours, nor any that I know,) are hired
5 by the public to lead men into mischief but lawyers and physicians are not, you hire them yourself

It is objected, (by priests, no doubt, but I have forgot their names,) that false speculations are necessary to be imposed upon men, in order to assist the magistrate in
10 keeping the peace, and that men ought therefore to be deceived, like children, for their own good I answer, That zeal for imposing speculations, whether true or false, (under the name of speculations I include all opinions of religion, as the belief of a God, providence, immortality of
15 the soul, future rewards and punishments &c.) has done more hurt than it is possible for religion to do good It puts us to the charge of maintaining ten thousand priests in England, which is a burden upon society never felt upon any other occasion and a greater evil to the public, than if
20 these ecclesiastics were only employed in the most innocent offices of life, which I take to be eating and drinking Now, if you offer to impose anything on mankind beside what relates to moral duties, as to pay your debts, not pick pockets, nor commit murder, and the like, that is to say, if
25 beside this, you oblige them to believe in God and Jesus Christ, what you add to their faith, will take just so much off from their morality By this argument it is manifest, that a perfect moral man must be a perfect atheist; every inch of religion he gets loses him an inch of morality. for
30 there is a certain *quantum* belongs to every man, of which there is nothing to spare This is clear from the common practice of all our priests they never once preach to you to love your neighbour, to be just in your dealings, or to be sober and temperate The streets of London are full of

common courtesans, publicly tolerated in their wickedness, yet the priests make no complaints against this enormity, either from the pulpit or the press I can affirm, that neither you nor I, sir, have ever heard one sermon against this vice since we were boys No, the priests allow all these vices, and 5 love us the better for them, provided we will promise not 'to harangue upon a text,' nor to sprinkle a little water in a child's face, which they call baptising, and would engross it all to themselves

Besides, the priests engage all the rogues, villains, and 10 fools, in their party, in order to make it as large as they can by this means they seduced Constantine the Great over to their religion, who was the first Christian emperor, and so horrible a villain, that the heathen priests told him they could not expiate his crimes in their church, so he was at 15 a loss to know what to do, till an Ægyptian bishop assured him, that there was no villany so great, but was to be expiated by the sacraments of the Christian religion upon which he became a Christian, and to him that religion owes its first settlement 20

It is objected that freethinkers themselves are the most infamous, wicked, and senseless, of all mankind

I answer, first, we say the same of priests, and other believers But the truth is, men of all sects are equally good and bad, for no religion whatsoever contributes in the 25 least to mend men's lives

I answer, secondly, that freethinkers use their understanding, but those who have religion do not therefore the first have more understanding than the others, witness Toland, Tindal, Gildon, Clendon, Coward, and myself 30 For, use legs, and have legs

I answer, thirdly, that freethinkers are the most virtuous persons in the world, for all freethinkers must certainly differ from the priests, and from nine hundred ninety-nine

of a thousand of those among whom they live , and are, therefore, virtuous, of course, because everybody hates them

I answer, fourthly, that the most virtuous people, in all
5 ages, have been freethinkers , of which I shall produce several instances

Socrates was a freethinker , for he disbelieved the gods of his country, and the common creeds about them, and declared his dislike when he heard men attribute 'repentance,
10 anger, and other passions to the gods, and talk of wars and battles in heaven, and of the gods getting women with child,' and such like fabulous and blasphemous stories I pick out these particulars, because they are the very same with what the priests have in their Bibles, where repentance and
15 anger are attributed to God , where it is said, there was 'war in heaven , ' and that ' the Virgin Mary was with child by the Holy Ghost , ' whom the priests call God, all fabulous and blasphemous stories Now, I affirm Socrates to have been a true Christian You will ask, perhaps, how that can
20 be, since he lived three or four hundred years before Christ? I answer, with Justin Martyr, that Christ is nothing else but reason , and I hope you do not think Socrates lived before reason Now, this true Christian Socrates never made notions, speculations, or mysteries, any part of his religion ,
25 but demonstrated all men to be fools who troubled themselves with inquiries into heavenly things Lastly, it is plain that Socrates was a freethinker, because he was calumniated for an atheist, as freethinkers generally are, only because he was an enemy to all speculations and inquiries
30 into heavenly things For I argue thus, that, if I never trouble myself to think whether there be a God or not, and forbid others to do it, I am a freethinker, but not an atheist.

Plato was a freethinker, and his notions are so like some in the gospel, that a heathen charged Christ with borrowing

his doctrine from Plato. But Origen defends Christ very well against this charge, by saying he did not understand Greek, and therefore could not borrow his doctrine from Plato. However, these two religions agreed so well, that it was common for Christians to turn Platonists, and Platonists 5 Christians. When the Christians found out this, one of their zealous priests (worse than any atheist) forged several things under Plato's name, but conformable to Christianity, by which the heathens were fraudulently converted.

Epicurus was the greatest of all freethinkers, and consequently the most virtuous man in the world. His opinions in religion were the most complete system of atheism that ever appeared. Christians ought to have the greatest veneration for him, because he taught a higher point of virtue than Christ, I mean, the virtue of friendship, which, 15 in the sense we usually understand it, is not so much as named in the New Testament.

Plutarch was a freethinker, notwithstanding his being a priest, but indeed he was a heathen priest. His freethinking appears by shewing the innocence of atheism, 20 (which at worst is only false reasoning,) and the mischiefs of superstition, and he explains what superstition is, by calling it a conceit of immortal ills after death, the opinion of hell torments, dreadful aspects, doleful groans, and the like. He is likewise very satirical upon the public forms of 25 devotion in his own country, a qualification absolutely necessary to a freethinker, yet those forms which he ridicules, are the very same that now pass for true worship in almost all countries. I am sure some of them do so in ours, such as abject looks, distortions, wry faces, beggarly 30 tones, humiliation, and contrition.

Varro, the most learned among the Romans, was a freethinker; for he said, the heathen divinity contained many fables below the dignity of immortal beings; such, for

instance, as Gods begotten and proceeding from other Gods. These two words I desire you will particularly remark, because they are the very terms made use of by our priests in their doctrine of the Trinity. He says likewise, that
 5 there are many things false in religion, and so say all freethinkers; but then he adds, 'which the vulgar ought not to know, but it is expedient they should believe'. In this last he, indeed, discovers the whole secret of a statesman and politician, by denying the vulgar the privilege of freethinking,
 10 and here I differ from him. However, it is manifest from hence, that the Trinity was an invention of statesmen and politicians.

The grave and wise Cato, the censor, will for ever live in that noble freethinking saying—'I wonder,' said he,
 15 'how one of our priests can forbear laughing when he sees another!' For, contempt of priests is another grand characteristic of a freethinker. This shews that Cato understood the whole mystery of the Roman 'religion as by law established'. I beg you, sir, not to overlook these last
 20 words, 'religion as by law established'. I translate *haruspex*, into the general word, *priest*. Thus I apply the sentence to our priests in England, and, when Dr Smallridge sees Dr. Atterbury, I wonder how either of them can forbear laughing at the cheat they put upon the people, by making them
 25 believe their 'religion as by law established'.

Cicero, that consummate philosopher and noble patriot, though he was a priest, and consequently more likely to be a knave, gave the greatest proofs of his freethinking. First, he professed the sceptic philosophy, which doubts of every-
 30 thing. Then he wrote two treatises; in the first, he shews the weakness of the stoics' arguments for the being of the Gods. In the latter, he has destroyed the whole revealed religion of the Greeks and Romans, for why should not theirs be a revealed religion as well as that of Christ?

Cicero likewise tells us, as his own opinion, that they who study philosophy, do not believe there are any Gods he denies the immortality of the soul, and says, there can be nothing after death

And because the priests have the impudence to quote 5 Cicero, in their pulpits and pamphlets against freethinking, I am resolved to disarm them of his authority You must know, his philosophical works are generally in dialogues, where people are brought in disputing against one another Now the priests, when they see an argument to prove a God, 10 offered perhaps by a stoic, are such knaves or blockheads, to quote it as if it were Cicero's own, whereas Cicero was so noble a freethinker, that he believed nothing at all of the matter, nor ever shews the least inclination to favour superstition, or the belief of a God, and the immortality of the 15 soul, unless what he throws out sometimes to save himself from danger, in his speeches to the Roman mob, whose religion was, however, much more innocent, and less absurd, than that of popery at least and I could say more—but you understand me 20

Seneca was a great freethinker, and had a noble notion of the worship of the gods, for which our priests would call any man an atheist he laughs at morning devotions, or worshipping upon Sabbath-days, he says, God has no need of ministers and servants, because he himself serves man- 25 kind This religious man, like his religious brethren the stoics, denies the immortality of the soul, and says, all that is feigned to be so terrible in hell, is but a fable death puts an end to all our misery, &c Yet the priests were anciently so fond of Seneca, that they forged a correspond- 30 ence of letters between him and St Paul

Solomon himself, whose writings are called 'the word of God,' was such a freethinker, that if he were now alive, nothing but his building of churches could have kept our

priests from calling him an atheist. He affirms the eternity of the world almost in the same manner with Manilius, the heathen philosophical poet, which opinion entirely overthrows the history of the creation by Moses, and all the New Testament. he denies the immortality of the soul, assures us, 'that men die like beasts' and 'that both go to one place'

The prophets of the Old Testament were generally free-thinkers. You must understand, that their way of learning
10 to prophesy was by music and drinking. These prophets wrote against the established religion of the Jews, (which those people looked upon as the institution of God himself,) as if they believed it was all a cheat. that is to say, with as great liberty against the priests and prophets of Israel, as
15 Dr Tindal did lately against the priests and prophets of our Israel, who has clearly shewn them and their religion to be cheats. To prove this, you may read several passages in Isaiah, Ezekiel, Amos, Jeremiah, &c, wherein you will find such instances of freethinking, that, if any Englishman had
20 talked so in our days, their opinions would have been registered in Dr Sacheverell's trial, and in the representation of the lower house of convocation, and produced as so many proofs of the profaneness, blasphemy, and atheism of the nation, there being nothing more profane, blasphemous, or
25 atheistical, in those representations, than what these prophets have spoken, whose writings are yet called by our priests, 'the word of God'. And therefore these prophets are as much atheists as myself, or as any of my freethinking brethren whom I lately named to you.

30 Josephus was a great freethinker. I wish he had chosen a better subject to write on, than those ignorant, barbarous, ridiculous scoundrels, the Jews, whom God (if we may believe the priests) thought fit to choose for his own people. I will give you some instances of his freethinking.—He says,

Cain travelled through several countries, and kept company with rakes and profligate fellows, he corrupted the simplicities of former times, &c, which plainly supposes men before Adam, and consequently that the priests' history of the creation by Moses is an imposture. He says, the 5 Israelites' passing through the Red Sea, was no more than Alexander's passing at the Pamphilian sea, that, as for the appearance of God at Mount Sinai, the reader may believe it as he pleases, that Moses persuaded the Jews he had God for his guide, just as the Greeks pretended they had their 10 laws from Apollo. These are noble strains of freethinking, which the priests knew not how to solve, but by thinking as freely for one of them says, that Josephus wrote this, to make his work acceptable to the heathens, by striking out everything that was incredible 15

Origen, who was the first Christian that had any learning, has left a noble testimony of his freethinking, for a general council has determined him to be damned, which plainly shews he was a freethinker, and was no saint, for people were only sainted because of their want of learning and 20 excess of zeal, so that all the fathers, who are called saints by the priests, were worse than atheists

Minutius Felix seems to be a true modern latitudinarian, freethinking Christian, for he is against altars, churches, public preaching, and public assemblies, and likewise 25 against priests, for, he says, there were several great flourishing empires before there were any orders of priests in the world

Synesius, who had too much learning and too little zeal for a saint, was for some time a great freethinker, he could 30 not believe the resurrection till he was made a bishop, and then pretended to be convinced by a lying miracle

To come to our own country My Lord Bacon was a great freethinker, when he tells us, 'that whatever has the

least relation to religion, is particularly liable to suspicion, ' by which he seems to suspect all the facts whereon most of the superstitions (that is to say, what the priests call the religions) of the world are grounded. He also prefers
5 atheism before superstition

Mr Hobbes was a person of great learning, virtue, and freethinking, except in the high church politics

But Archbishop Tillotson is the person whom all English freethinkers own as their head, and his virtue is indis-
10 putable for this manifest reason, that Dr Hickes, a priest, calls him an atheist, says, he caused several to turn atheists, and to ridicule the priesthood and religion. These must be allowed to be noble effects of freethinking. This great prelate assures us, that all the duties of the Christian
15 religion, with respect to God, are no other but what natural light prompts men to, except the two sacraments, and praying to God in the name and mediation of Christ. As a priest and prelate, he was obliged to say something of Christianity, but pray observe, sir, how he brings himself
20 off. He justly affirms, that even these things are of less moment than natural duties, and, because mothers' nursing their children is a natural duty, it is of more moment than the two sacraments, or than praying to God, in the name, and by the mediation, of Christ. This freethinking arch-
25 bishop could not allow a miracle sufficient to give credit to a prophet, who taught anything contrary to our natural notions, by which, it is plain, he rejected at once all the mysteries of Christianity

I could name one-and-twenty more great men, who were
30 all freethinkers, but that I fear to be tedious, for it is certain that all men of sense depart from the opinions commonly received, and are consequently more or less men of sense, according as they depart more or less from the opinions commonly received, neither can you name an

enemy* to freethinking, however he be dignified or distinguished, whether archbishop, bishop, priest, or deacon, who has not been either 'a crackbrained enthusiast, a diabolical villain, or a most profound ignorant brute'

Thus, sir, I have endeavoured to execute your commands, and you may print this Letter, if you please, but I would have you conceal my name For my opinion of virtue is, that we ought not to venture doing ourselves harm, by endeavouring to do good

I am yours, &c.

10



CONCLUSION.

I HAVE here given the public a brief, but faithful abstract of this most excellent Essay, wherein I have all along religiously adhered to our author's notions, and generally to his words, without any other addition than that of explaining a few necessary consequences, for the sake of 15 ignorant readers, for to those who have the least degree of learning, I own, they will be wholly useless I hope I have not in any single instance, misrepresented the thoughts of this admirable writer If I have happened to mistake through inadvertency, I entreat he will condescend 20 to inform me, and point out the place, upon which, I will immediately beg pardon both of him and the world The design of his piece is to recommend freethinking, and one chief motive is the example of many excellent men who were of that sect. He produces, as the principal points of 25 their freethinking, that they denied the being of a God, the torments of hell, the immortality of the soul, the Trinity,

incarnation, the history of the creation by Moses, with many other such 'fabulous and blasphemous stonies,' as he judiciously calls them and he asserts, that whoever denies the most of these, is the completest freethinker, and consequently the wisest and most virtuous man

The author, sensible of the prejudices of the age, does not directly affirm himself an atheist, he goes no farther than to pronounce that atheism is the most perfect degree of freethinking, and leaves the reader to form the conclusion. However, he seems to allow, that a man may be a tolerable freethinker, though he does believe a God, provided he utterly rejects 'providence, revelation, the Old and New Testament, future rewards and punishments, the immortality of the soul,' and other the like impossible absurdities. Which mark of superabundant caution, sacrificing truth to the superstition of priests, may perhaps be forgiven, but ought not to be imitated by any who would arrive (even in this author's judgment) at the true perfection of freethinking

III.

A LETTER

TO

A YOUNG CLERGYMAN,

LATELY ENTERED INTO HOLY ORDERS

THIS letter is of interest, not only because it shows Swift in the phase which suits him best, half-sarcastic and half-serious, but also because it is one of the earliest pieces following the silence of some years, which ensued upon his return to Ireland, as Dean of St Patrick's, in 1714. Swift was soon to be drawn again into the vortex of party politics, but now he writes in that calmer manner which, if it does not call out all the force of his *sæva indignatio*, at least displays his humour and his critical faculty at their best.

DUBLIN, *January 9, 1713*

SIR,—Although it was against my knowledge or advice that you entered into holy orders, under the present dispositions of mankind toward the church, yet since it is now supposed too late to recede, (at least according to the general practice and opinion,) I cannot forbear offering my 5 thoughts to you upon this new condition of life you are engaged in.

I could heartily wish, that the circumstances of your fortune had enabled you to have continued some years longer in the university, at least till you were ten years 10 standing, to have laid in a competent stock of human

learning, and some knowledge in divinity, before you attempted to appear in the world for I cannot but lament the common course which at least nine in ten of those who enter into the ministry, are obliged to run When they
5 have taken a degree, and are consequently grown a burden to their friends, who now think themselves fully discharged, they get into orders as soon as they can, (upon which I shall make no remarks), first solicit a readership, and if they be very fortunate, arrive in time to a curacy here in town,
10 or else they are sent to be assistants in the country, where they probably continue several years, (many of them their whole lives,) with thirty or forty pounds a-year for their support till some bishop, who happens to be not overstocked with relations, or attached to favourites, or is content
15 to supply his diocese without colonies from England, bestows upon them some inconsiderable benefice, when it is odds they are already encumbered with a numerous family I should be glad to know, what intervals of life such persons can possibly set apart for the improvement of their minds,
20 or which way they could be furnished with books, the library they brought with them from their college, being usually not the most numerous, or judiciously chosen If such gentlemen arrive to be great scholars, it must, I think, be either by means supernatural, or by a method altogether
25 out of any road yet known to the learned But I conceive the fact directly otherwise, and that many of them lose the greatest part of the small pittance they receive at the university

I take it for granted, that you intend to pursue the beaten
30 tract, and are already desirous to be seen in a pulpit only I hope you will think it proper to pass your quarantine among some of the desolate churches five miles round this town, where you may at least learn to read and to speak, before you venture to expose your parts in a city congrega-

tion Not that these are better judges, but because, if a man must needs expose his folly, it is more safe and discreet to do so before few witnesses, and in a scattered neighbourhood And you will do well if you can prevail upon some intimate and judicious friend to be your constant hearer, and allow 5 him with the utmost freedom to give you notice of whatever he shall find amiss, either in your voice or gesture, for want of which early warning, many clergymen continue defective, and sometimes ridiculous, to the end of their lives Neither 15 is it rare to observe among excellent and learned divines, 10 a certain ungracious manner, or an unhappy tone of voice, which they never have been able to shake off

I should likewise have been glad, if you had applied yourself a little more to the study of the English language, than I fear you have done, the neglect whereof is one of the 15 most general defects among the scholars of this kingdom, who seem not to have the least conception of a style, but run on in a flat kind of phraseology, often mingled with barbarous terms and expressions, peculiar to the nation, neither do I perceive that any person either finds or 20 acknowledges his wants upon this head, or in the least desires to have them supplied Proper words, in proper places, make the true definition of a style But this would require too ample a disquisition to be now dwelt on however, I shall venture to name one or two faults, which 25 are easy to be remedied, with a very small portion of abilities

The first, is the frequent use of obscure terms, which by the women are called hard words, and, by the better sort of vulgar, fine language, than which I do not know a more 30 universal, inexcusable, and unnecessary mistake, among the clergy of all distinctions, but especially the younger practitioners I have been curious enough to take a list of several hundred words in a sermon of a new beginner,

which not one of his hearers among a hundred could possibly understand, neither can I easily call to mind any clergyman of my own acquaintance who is wholly exempt from this error, although many of them agree with me in the
5 dislike of the thing. But I am apt to put myself in the place of the vulgar, and think many words difficult or obscure, which the preacher will not allow to be so, because those words are obvious to scholars. I believe the method observed by the famous Lord Falkland, in some of his
10 writings would not be an ill one for young divines. I was assured by an old person of quality, who knew him well, that when he doubted whether a word was perfectly intelligible or not, he used to consult one of his lady's chambermaids, (not the waiting-woman, because it was possible she
15 might be conversant in romances,) and by her judgment was guided whether to receive or reject it. And if that great person thought such a caution necessary in treatises offered to the learned world, it will be sure at least as proper in sermons, where the meanest hearer is supposed
20 to be concerned, and where very often a lady's chambermaid may be allowed to equal half the congregation, both as to quality and understanding. But I know not how it comes to pass, that professors in most arts and sciences are generally the worst qualified to explain their meanings to those,
25 who are not of their tribe. a common farmer shall make you understand in three words, that his foot is out of joint, or his collar-bone broken, wherein a surgeon, after a hundred terms of art, if you are not a scholar, shall leave you to seek. It is frequently the same case in law, physic, and
30 even many of the meaner arts.

And upon this account it is, that among hard words, I number likewise those which are peculiar to divinity as it is a science, because I have observed several clergymen, otherwise little fond of obscure terms, yet in their sermons very

liberal* of those which they find in ecclesiastical writers, as if it were our duty to understand them which I am sure it is not And I defy the greatest divine to produce any law either of God or man, which obliges me to comprehend the meaning of *omniscience, omnipresent, ubiquity, attribute, 5 beatific vision*, with a thousand others so frequent in pulpits, any more than that of *eccentric, idiosyncrasy, entity*, and the like I believe I may venture to insist farther, that many terms used in holy writ, particularly by St Paul, might with more discretion be changed into plainer 10 speech, except when they are introduced as part of a quotation

I am the more earnest in this matter, because it is a general complaint, and the justest in the world For, a divine has nothing to say to the wisest congregation of 15 any parish in this kingdom, which he may not express in a manner to be understood by the meanest among them And this assertion must be true, or else God requires from us more than we are able to perform However, not to contend whether a logician might possibly put a case that 20 would serve for an exception, I will appeal to any man of letters, whether at least nineteen in twenty of those perplexing words, might not be changed into easy ones, such as naturally first occur to ordinary men, and probably did so at first to those very gentlemen, who are so very fond of 25 the former

We are often reproved by divines, from the pulpits, on account of our ignorance in things sacred, and perhaps with justice enough . however, it is not very reasonable for them to expect, that common men should understand expres- 30 sions, which are never made use of in common life No gentleman thinks it safe or prudent to send a servant with a message, without repeating it more than once, and endeavouring to put it into terms brought down to the

capacity of the bearer yet, after all this care, it is frequent for servants to mistake, and sometimes occasion misunderstandings among friends Although the common domestics in some gentlemen's families have more opportunities of
5 improving their minds than the ordinary sort of tradesmen

It is usual for clergymen, who are taxed with this learned defect, to quote Dr Tillotson, and other famous divines, in their defence, without considering the difference between elaborate discourses upon important occasions, delivered to
10 princes or parliaments, written with a view of being made public, and a plain sermon intended for the middle or lower size of people Neither do they seem to remember the many alterations, additions, and expungings, made by great authors in those treatises, which they prepare for the
15 public Besides, that excellent prelate above mentioned, was known to preach after a much more popular manner in the city congregations, and if in those parts of his works he be anywhere too obscure for the understandings of many, who may be supposed to have been his hearers, it ought to
20 be numbered among his omissions

The fear of being thought pedants, has been of pernicious consequence to young divines. This has wholly taken many of them off from their severer studies in the university, which they have exchanged for plays, poems, and pamph-
25 lets, in order to qualify them for tea-tables and coffeehouses This they usually call 'polite conversation, knowing the world, and reading men instead of books' These accomplishments, when applied to the pulpit, appear by a quaint, terse, florid style, rounded into periods and cadences, com-
30 monly without either propriety or meaning I have listened with my utmost attention for half an hour to an orator of this species, without being able to understand, much less to carry away, one single sentence out of a whole sermon. Others, to shew that their studies have not been confined to

sciences, or ancient authors, will talk in the style of a gaming ordinary, and White Friars, when I suppose the hearers can be little edified by the terms of '*palming, shuffling, biting, bamboozling,*' and the like, if they have not been sometimes conversant among pick-pockets and sharpers 5 And truly, as they say a man is known by his company, so it should seem that a man's company may be known by his manner of expressing himself, either in public assemblies, or private conversation

It would be endless to run over the several defects of 10 style among us I shall therefore say nothing of the mean and paltry, (which are usually attended by the fustian,) much less of the slovenly or indecent Two things I will just warn you against the first is, the frequency of flat unnecessary epithets, and the other is, the folly of using old threadbare 15 phrases, which will often make you go out of your way to find and apply them, are nauseous to rational hearers, and will seldom express your meaning, as well as your own natural words

Although, as I have already observed, our English tongue 20 is too little cultivated in this kingdom, yet the faults are nine in ten owing to affectation, and not to the want of understanding When a man's thoughts are clear, the properest words will generally offer themselves first, and his own judgment will direct him in what order to place them, 25 so as they may be best understood. Where men err against this method, it is usually on purpose, and to shew their knowledge of the world In short, that simplicity, without which no human performance can arrive to any great perfection, is nowhere more eminently useful than in this 30

I have been considering that part of oratory, which relates to the moving of the passions, this I observe is in esteem and practice among some church divines, as well as among all the preachers and hearers of the fanatic

or enthusiastic strain I will here deliver to you (perhaps with more freedom than prudence) my opinion upon the point

The two great orators of Greece and Rome, Demosthenes
5 and Cicero, though each of them a leader (or, as the Greeks called it, a demagogue) in a popular state, yet seem to differ in their practice upon this branch of their art the former, who had*to deal with a people of much more politeness, learning, and wit, laid the greatest weight of his oratory
10 upon the strength of his arguments, offered to their understanding and reason whereas Tully considered the dispositions of a sincere, more ignorant, and less mercurial nation, by dwelling almost entirely on the pathetic part

But the principal thing to be remembered is, that the
15 constant design of both these orators, in all their speeches, was, to drive some one particular point, either the condemnation or acquittal of an accused person, a persuasive to war, the enforcing of a law, and the like which was determined upon the spot, according as the orators on either side
20 prevailed. And here it was often found of absolute necessity to inflame or cool the passions of the audience, especially at Rome, where Tully spoke, and with whose writings young divines (I mean those among them who read old authors) are more conversant than with those of Demos-
25 thenes, who by many degrees excelled the other, at least as an orator But I do not see how this talent of moving the passions can be of any great use toward directing Christian men in the conduct of their lives, at least, in these northern climates, where I am confident the strongest
30 eloquence of that kind will leave few impressions upon any of our spirits deep enough to last till the next morning, or rather, to the next meal

But what has chiefly put me out of conceit with this moving manner of preaching, is the frequent disappoint-

ment ¹⁰ meets with I know a gentleman who made it a rule in reading, to skip over all sentences where he spied a note of admiration at the end I believe those preachers who abound in *epiphonemas*, if they look about them, would find one part of their congregation out of countenance, and ⁵ the other asleep, except perhaps an old female beggar or two in the aisles, who (if they be sincere) may probably groan at the sound

Nor is it a wonder, that this expedient should so often miscarry, which requires so much art and genius to arrive ¹⁰ at any perfection in it, as every man will find, much sooner than learn, by consulting Cicero himself

I therefore entreat you to make use of this faculty (if you ever be so unfortunate as to think you have it) as seldom, and with as much caution, as you can, else I may probably ¹⁵ have occasion to say of you, as a great person said of another upon this very subject A lady asked him, coming out of church, whether it were not a very moving discourse? 'Yes,' says he, 'I was extremely sorry, for the man is my friend' ²⁰

If in company you offer something for a jest, and nobody seconds you in your own laughter, or seems to relish what you said, you may condemn their taste, if you please, and appeal to better judgments, but, in the meantime, it must be agreed, you make a very indifferent figure and it is at ²⁵ least equally ridiculous to be disappointed in endeavouring to make other folks grieve, as to make them laugh

A plain convincing reason may possibly operate upon the mind, both of a learned and ignorant hearer, as long as they live, and will edify a thousand times more than the art of ³⁰ wetting the handkerchiefs of a whole congregation, if you were sure to attain it

If your arguments be strong, in God's name offer them in as moving a manner as the nature of the subject will

properly admit, wherein reason and good advice will be your safest guides, but beware of letting the pathetic part swallow up the rational for I suppose philosophers have long agreed, that passion should never prevail over
5 reason

As I take it, the two principal branches of preaching are, first, to tell the people what is their duty, and then to convince them that it is so The topics for both these, we know, are brought from scripture and reason Upon the
10 former, I wish it were often practised to instruct the hearers in the limits, extent, and compass of every duty, which requires a good deal of skill and judgment the other branch is, I think, not so difficult But what I would offer upon both, is this, that it seems to be in the power of
15 a reasonable clergyman, if he will be at the pains, to make the most ignorant man comprehend what is his duty, and to convince him by arguments drawn to the level of his understanding, that he ought to perform it

But I must remember that my design in this paper, was
20 not so much to instruct you in your business, either as a clergyman or a preacher, as to warn you against some mistakes, which are obvious to the generality of mankind, as well as to me and we, who are hearers, may be allowed to have some opportunities in the quality of being standers-
25 by Only, perhaps, I may now again transgress, by desiring you to express the heads of your divisions in as few and clear words as you possibly can, otherwise I, and many thousand others, will never be able to retain them, and consequently to carry away a syllable of the sermon

30 I shall now mention a particular, wherein your whole body will be certainly against me, and the laity, almost to a man, on my side However it came about, I cannot get over the prejudice of taking some little offence at the clergy, for perpetually reading their sermons, perhaps my frequent

hearing of foreigners, who never made use of notes, may have added to my disgust. And I cannot but think, that whatever is read differs as much from what is repeated without book, as a copy does from an original. At the same time, I am highly sensible, what an extreme difficulty 5 it would be upon you to alter this method, and that in such a case, your sermons would be much less valuable than they are, for want of time to improve and correct them. I would therefore gladly come to a compromise with you in this matter. I knew a clergyman of some 10 distinction, who appeared to deliver his sermon without looking into his notes, which when I complimented him upon, he assured me he could not repeat six lines, but his method was to write the whole sermon in a large plain hand, with all the forms of margin, paragraph, marked 15 page, and the like, then on Sunday morning he took care to run it over five or six times, which he could do in an hour, and when he delivered it, by pretending to turn his face from one side to the other, he would (in his own expression) pick up the lines, and cheat his people, by 20 making them believe he had it all by heart. He farther added, that whenever he happened by neglect to omit any of these circumstances, the vogue of the parish was, 'Our doctor gave us but an indifferent sermon to-day.' Now, among us, many clergymen act so directly contrary to this 25 method, that from a habit of saving time and paper, which they acquired at the University, they write in so diminutive a manner, with such frequent blots and interlineations, that they are hardly able to go on without perpetual hesitations, or extemporary expletives. and I desire to know what can 30 be more inexcusable, than to see a divine and a scholar at a loss in reading his own compositions, which it is supposed he has been preparing with much pains and thought for the instruction of his people. The want of a little more care in

this article is the cause of much ungraceful behaviour. You will observe some clergymen with their heads held down from the beginning to the end, within an inch of the cushion, to read what is hardly legible which, besides the untoward
5 manner, hinders them from making the best advantage of their voice others again have a trick of popping up and down every moment from their paper to the audience, like an idle school-boy on a repetition-day

Let me entreat you, therefore, to add one half-crown a
10 year to the article of paper, to transcribe your sermons in as large and plain a manner as you can, and either make no interlineations, or change the whole leaf, for we, your hearers, would rather you should be less correct, than perpetually stammering, which I take to be one of the worst
15 solecisms in rhetoric And, lastly, read your sermon once or twice a day, for a few days before you preach it to which you will probably answer some years hence, 'that it was but just finished when the last bell rang to church' and I shall readily believe, but not excuse you

20 I cannot forbear warning you, in the most earnest manner, against endeavouring at wit in your sermons, because, by the strictest computation, it is very near a million to one that you have none, and because too many of your calling have consequently made themselves everlastingly ridiculous by
25 attempting it I remember several young men in this town, who could never leave the pulpit under half a dozen conceits, and this faculty adhered to those gentlemen a longer or shorter time, exactly in proportion to their several degrees of dulness accordingly, I am told, that some of them retain
30 it to this day I heartily wish the brood were at an end

Before you enter into the common insufferable cant of taking all occasions to disparage the heathen philosophers, I hope you will differ from some of your brethren, by first enquiring what those philosophers can say for themselves

The system of morality to be gathered out of the writings or sayings of those ancient sages, falls undoubtedly very short of that delivered in the gospel, and wants, besides, the divine sanction which our Saviour gave his. Whatever is farther related by the evangelists, contains chiefly matters 5 of fact, and consequently of faith, such as the birth of Christ, his being the Messiah, his miracles, his death, resurrection, and ascension none of which can properly come under the appellation of human wisdom, being intended only to make us wise unto salvation. And there- 10 fore in this point nothing can be justly laid to the charge of the philosophers, farther than that they were ignorant of certain facts which happened long after their death. But I am deceived, if a better comment could be any where collected upon the moral part of the gospel, than from the 15 writings of those excellent men, even that divine precept of loving our enemies, is at large insisted on by Plato, who puts it, as I remember, into the mouth of Socrates. And as to the reproach of heathenism, I doubt they had less of it than the corrupted Jews, in whose time they lived. For 20 it is a gross piece of ignorance among us, to conceive, that in those polite and learned ages, even persons of any tolerable education, much less the wisest philosophers, did acknowledge or worship any more than one almighty power, under several denominations, to whom they allowed 25 all those attributes we ascribe to the divinity, and, as I take it, human comprehension reaches no farther; neither did our Saviour think it necessary to explain to us the nature of God, because, as I suppose it would be impossible, without bestowing on us other faculties than we 30 possess at present. But the true misery of the heathen world appears to be, what I before mentioned, the want of a divine sanction, without which the dictates of the philosophers failed in the point of authority; and consequently

the bulk of mankind lay indeed under a great load of ignorance, even in the article of morality, but the philosophers themselves did not Take the matter in this light, and it will afford field enough for a divine to enlarge on, by
5 showing the advantages which the Christian world has over the heathen, and the absolute necessity of divine revelation, to make the knowledge of the true God, and the practice of virtue, more universal in the world

I am not ignorant how much I differ in this opinion from
10 some ancient fathers in the church, who, arguing against the heathens, made it a principal topic to decry their philosophy as much as they could which, I hope, is not altogether our present case Besides, it is to be considered, that those fathers lived in the decline of literature, and in
15 my judgment (who should be unwilling to give the least offence) appear to be rather most excellent holy persons, than of transcendent genius and learning Their genuine writings (for many of them have extremely suffered by spurious editions) are of admirable use for confirming the
20 truth of ancient doctrines and discipline, by shewing the state and practice of the primitive church But among such of them as have fallen in my way, I do not remember any, whose manner of arguing or exhorting I could heartily recommend to the imitation of a young divine, when he is
25 to speak from the pulpit Perhaps I judge too hastily, there being several of them in whose writings I have made very little progress, and in others none at all For I perused only such as were recommended to me, at a time when I had more leisure, and a better disposition to read,
30 than have since fallen to my share

To return then to the heathen philosophers I hope you will not only give them quarter, but make their works a considerable part of your study To these I will venture to add the principal orators and historians, and perhaps a few

of the poets, by the reading of which, you will soon discover your mind and thoughts to be enlarged, your imagination extended and refined, your judgment directed, your admiration lessened, and your fortitude increased, all which advantages must needs be of excellent use to a divine, whose duty it is to preach and practise the contempt of human things

I would say something concerning quotations, wherein I think you cannot be too sparing, except from scripture, and the primitive writers of the church. As to the former, when you offer a text as a proof of an illustration, we your hearers expect to be fairly used, and sometimes think we have reason to complain, especially of you younger divines, which makes us fear that some of you conceive you have no more to do than to turn over a concordance, and there having found the principal word, introduce as much of the verse as will serve your turn, though in reality it makes nothing for you. I do not altogether disapprove the manner of interweaving texts of scripture through the style of your sermons, wherein, however, I have sometimes observed great instances of indiscretion and impropriety, against which I therefore venture to give you a caution

As to quotations from ancient fathers, I think they are best brought in to confirm some opinion controverted by those who differ from us. In other cases we give you full power to adopt the sentence for your own, rather than tell us, 'as St Austin excellently observes'. But to mention modern writers by name, or use the phrase of 'a late excellent prelate of our church,' and the like, is altogether intolerable, and, for what reason I know not, makes every rational hearer ashamed. Of no better a stamp is your 'heathen philosopher,' and 'famous poet,' and 'Roman historian,' at least in common congregations, who will rather believe you on your own word, than on that of Plato or Homer

I have lived to see Greek and Latin almost entirely driven out of the pulpit, for which I am heartily glad. The frequent use of the latter was certainly a remnant of popery, which never admitted scripture in the vulgar language, and
5 I wonder that practice was never accordingly objected to us by the fanatics

The mention of quotations puts me in mind of commonplace books, which have been long in use by industrious young divines, and, I hear, do still continue so. I know
10 they are very beneficial to lawyers and physicians, because they are collections of facts or cases, whereupon a great part of their several faculties depend. Of these I have seen several, but never yet any written by a clergyman, only from what I am informed, they generally are extracts of
15 theological and moral sentences, drawn from ecclesiastical and other authors, reduced under proper heads, usually begun, and perhaps finished, while the collectors were young in the church, as being intended for materials, or nurseries to stock future sermons. You will observe the
20 wise editors of ancient authors, when they meet a sentence worthy of being distinguished, take special care to have the first word printed in capital letters, that you may not overlook it. Such, for example, as the INCONSTANCY of FORTUNE, the GOODNESS of PEACE, the EXCELLENCY of WISDOM, the
25 CERTAINTY of DEATH, that PROSPERITY makes men INSOLENT, and ADVERSITY HUMBLE, and the like eternal truths, which every ploughman knows well enough, though he never heard of Aristotle or Plato. If theological commonplace books be no better filled, I think they had better be
30 laid aside, and I could wish, that men of tolerable intellectuals would rather trust their own natural reason, improved by a general conversation with books, to enlarge on a point which they are supposed already to understand. If a rational man reads an excellent author with just

applicâtion, he shall find himself extremely improved, and, perhaps, insensibly led to imitate that author's perfections, although in a little time he should not remember one word in the book, nor even the subject it handled for books give the same turn to our thoughts and way of reasoning, 5 that good and ill company do to our behaviour and conversation, without either loading our memories, or making us even sensible of the change. And particularly I have observed in preaching, that no men succeed better, than those who trust entirely to the stock or fund of their own 10 reason, advanced indeed, but not overlaid, by commerce with books. Whoever only reads in order to transcribe wise and shining remarks, without entering into the genius and spirit of the author, as it is probable he will make no very judicious extract, so he will be apt to trust to that 15 collection in all his compositions, and be misled out of the regular way of thinking, in order to introduce those materials, which he has been at the pains to gather and the product of all this will be found a manifest incoherent piece of patchwork 20

Some gentlemen, abounding in their university erudition, are apt to fill their sermons with philosophical terms, and notions of the metaphysical or abstracted kind, which generally have one advantage, to be equally understood by the wise, the vulgar, and the preacher himself. I have 25 been better entertained, and more informed, by a few pages in the *Pilgrim's Progress*, than by a long discourse upon the will and the intellect, and simple or complex ideas. Others again are fond of dilating on matter and motion, talk of the fortuitous concourse of atoms, of theories, and 30 phenomena, directly against the advice of St Paul, who yet appears to have been conversant enough in those kinds of studies

I do not find that you are anywhere directed in the

canons or articles, to attempt explaining the mysteries of the Christian religion And indeed, since Providence intended there should be mysteries, I do not see how it can be agreeable to piety, orthodoxy, or good sense, to go
5 about such a work For, to me, there seems to be a manifest dilemma in the case, if you explain them, they are mysteries no longer, if you fail, you have laboured to no purpose What I should think most reasonable and safe for you to do upon this occasion, is, upon solemn days,
10 to deliver the doctrine as the church holds it, and confirm it by scripture For my part, having considered the matter impartially, I can see no great reason, which those gentlemen you call the freethinkers can have, for their clamour against religious mysteries, since it is plain they were not
15 invented by the clergy, to whom they bring no profit, nor acquire any honour For every clergyman is ready, either to tell us the utmost he knows, or to confess that he does not understand them neither is it strange, that there should be mysteries in divinity, as well as in the com-
20 monest operations of nature

And here I am at a loss what to say upon the frequent custom of preaching against atheism, deism, freethinking, and the like, as young divines are particularly fond of doing, especially when they exercise their talent in churches
25 frequented by persons of quality, which, as it is but an ill compliment to the audience, so I am under some doubt whether it answers the end

Because, persons under those imputations are generally no great frequenters of churches, and so the congregation is
30 but little edified for the sake of three or four fools, who are past grace neither do I think it any part of prudence to perplex the minds of well-disposed people with doubts, which probably would never have otherwise come into their heads. But I am of opinion, and dare be positive in it,

that not one in a hundred of those who pretend to be freethinkers, are really so in their hearts For there is one observation, which I never knew to fail, and I desire you will examine it in the course of your life, that no gentleman of a liberal education, and regular in his morals, did ever 5 profess himself a freethinker where then are these kind of people to be found? among the worst part of the soldiery, made up of pages, younger brothers of obscure families, and others of desperate fortunes, or else among idle town fops, and now and then a drunken 'squire of the country There- 10 fore nothing can be plainer, than that ignorance and vice are two ingredients absolutely necessary in the composition of those you generally call freethinkers, who, in propriety of speech, are no thinkers at all And since I am in the way of it, pray consider one thing farther as young as you are, 15 you cannot but have already observed, what a violent run there is among too many weak people against university education be firmly assured, that the whole cry is made up by those, who were either never sent to a college, or, through their irregularities and stupidity, never made the 20 least improvement while they were there I have above forty of the latter sort now in my eye, several of them in this town, whose learning, manners, temperance, probity, good-nature, and politics, are all of a piece, others of them in the country, oppressing their tenants, tyrannizing over 25 the neighbourhood, cheating the vicar, talking nonsense, and getting drunk at the sessions It is from such seminaries as these, that the world is provided with the several tribes and denominations of freethinkers, who, in my judgment, are not to be reformed by arguments offered 30 to prove the truth of the Christian religion, because reasoning will never make a man correct an ill opinion, which by reasoning he never acquired, for, in the course of things, men always grow vicious before they become unbelievers.

but if you would once convince the town or country profligate, by topics drawn from the view of their own quiet, reputation, health, and advantage, their infidelity would soon drop off this, I confess, is no easy task, because it
5 is, almost in a literal sense, to fight with beasts Now, to make it clear, that we are to look for no other original of this infidelity, whereof divines so much complain, it is allowed on all hands, that the people of England are more corrupt in their morals, than any other nation at this day
10 under the sun and this corruption is manifestly owing to other causes, both numerous and obvious, much more than to the publication of irreligious books, which indeed are but the consequence of the former For all the writers against Christianity, since the Revolution, have been of
15 the lowest rank among men in regard to literature, wit, and good sense, and upon that account wholly unqualified to propagate heresies, unless among a people already abandoned

In an age, where everything disliked by those who think
20 with the majority, is called disaffection, it may perhaps be ill interpreted, when I venture to tell you, that this universal depravation of manners is owing to the perpetual bandying of factions among us for thirty years past, when, without weighing the motives of justice, law, conscience, or honour,
25 every man adjusts his principles to those of the party he has chosen, and among whom he may best find his own account, but by reason of our frequent vicissitudes, men who were impatient of being out of play, have been forced to recant, or at least to reconcile their former tenets with
30 every new system of administration Add to this, that the old fundamental custom of annual parliaments being wholly laid aside, and elections growing chargeable, since gentlemen found that their country seats brought them in less than a seat in the House, the voters, that is to say, the

bulk of the common people, have been universally seduced into bribery, perjury, drunkenness, malice, and slander

Not to be farther tedious, or rather invidious, these are a few, among other causes, which have contributed to the ruin of our morals, and consequently to the contempt of religion 5 for, imagine to yourself, if you please, a landed youth, whom his mother would never suffer to look into a book for fear of spoiling his eyes, got into parliament, and observing all enemies to the clergy heard with the utmost applause, what notions he must imbibe, how readily he will join in the cry, 10 what an esteem he will conceive of himself, and what a contempt he must entertain, not only for his vicar at home, but for the whole order

I therefore again conclude, that the trade of infidelity has been taken up only for an expedient to keep in countenance 15 that universal corruption of morals, which many other causes first contributed to introduce and to cultivate And thus Mr Hobbes's saying upon reason may be much more properly applied to religion—that, if religion will be against a man, a man will be against religion Though, after all, 20 I have heard a profligate offer much stronger arguments against paying his debts, than ever he was known to do against Christianity, indeed, the reason was, because in that juncture he happened to be closer pressed by the bailiff than the parson 25

Ignorance may perhaps be the mother of superstition, but experience has not proved it to be so of devotion, for Christianity always made the most easy and quickest progress in civilized countries I mention this, because it is affirmed, that the clergy are in most credit where ignor- 30 ance prevails, (and surely this kingdom would be called the paradise of clergymen, if that opinion were true,) for which they instance England in the times of Popery But, whoever knows anything of three or four centuries before

the Reformation, will find the little learning then stirring was more equally divided between the English clergy and laity, than it is at present There were several famous lawyers in that period, whose writings are still in the highest
5 repute, and some historians and poets, who were not of the church Whereas, now-a-days, our education is so corrupted, that you will hardly find a young person of quality with the least tincture of knowledge, at the same time that many of the clergy were never more learned, or so scurvily treated
10 Here, among us at least, a man of letters, out of the three professions, is almost a prodigy And those few, who have preserved any rudiments of learning, are, (except perhaps one or two smatterers,) the clergy's friends, to a man, and I dare appeal to any clergyman in this kingdom, whether
15 the greatest dunce in the parish be not always the most proud, wicked, fraudulent, and intractable, of his flock

I think the clergy have almost given over perplexing themselves and their hearers with abstruse points of predestination, election, and the like, at least, it is time they
20 should, and therefore I shall not trouble you farther upon this head

I have now said all I could think convenient with relation to your conduct in the pulpit your behaviour in the world is another scene, upon which I shall readily offer you my
25 thoughts, if you appear to desire them from me by your approbation of what I have here written, if not, I have already troubled you too much

I am, Sir,

Your affectionate friend and servant

IRISH TRACTS

WE have now to turn to an entirely new side of Swift's activity, and to illustrate this by some of his contributions to the struggle upon which he was now to enter on behalf of Irish independence. Since 1714, when the fall of the Tory Ministry had sent him back to Ireland as Dean of St Patrick's, he had remained in obscurity, nursing his wrath against the Whig government of Walpole. At first his name had been held in execration but these intervening years had joined together former enemies in Ireland by a common hatred of the policy pursued by Walpole, which had deliberately sacrificed all Irish interests to those of England, and of the little 'garrison' of English nominees to whom her government was entrusted, and upon whom the emoluments of her offices were lavished. The growing force of this common discontent only sought an occasion in order to break out, and Swift found in it a means of taking revenge upon his political opponents. It was doubtless this motive of revenge that at first roused him to take part in the fray but the theme of Irish wrongs soon gave him topics by which he appealed more readily to the popular discontent. Irish society was rotting at the core by every form of evil which disorder and neglect could propagate. Her agriculture suffered by the prevalence of absenteeism amongst the landlords. Her industries were crippled by unjust restrictions, imposed in the interest of England. Her coinage was in hopeless disorder. The better classes were demoralized by exclusion from all public work and from all the educative influence of self-government. Her poor were sinking into hopeless degradation through the spread of unchecked vagabondage and professional beggary¹.

The first pamphlet is that with which Swift opened his campaign. It was suggested not so much by any immediate occasion, as by a

¹ For a more full account of the state of Irish society, and the causes of Irish discontent than space here permits, I am obliged to refer the reader to chap. xiii of my 'Life of Swift' (London, 1882).

series of statutes which from the days of Charles II to those in which Swift wrote, had closed foreign markets to Irish industries. By a strange act of folly the Government chose to consider the Tract as treasonable. The printer was imprisoned and although on his trial the jury found him not guilty, the Lord Chief Justice Whiteshed attempted to coerce them into an opposite verdict, and the proceedings were protracted from term to term until the Government found it expedient to abandon the prosecution.

I

A PROPOSAL

FOR THE

UNIVERSAL USE OF IRISH MANUFACTURE IN CLOTHES
AND FURNITURE OF HOUSES, &c,

UTTERLY REJECTING AND RENOUNCING EVERYTHING
WEARABLE THAT COMES FROM ENGLAND

1720

It is the peculiar felicity and prudence of the people in this kingdom, that whatever commodities and productions lie under the greatest discouragements from England, those are what they are sure to be most industrious in cultivating
5 and spreading. Agriculture, which has been the principal care of all wise nations, and for the encouragement whereof there are so many statute laws in England, we countenance so well, that the landlords are everywhere, by penal clauses, absolutely prohibiting their tenants from ploughing, not
10 satisfied to confine them within certain limitations, as is the practice of the English one effect of which is already seen in the prodigious dearness of corn, and the importation of

it from London, as the cheaper market And because people are the riches of a country, and that our neighbours have done, and are doing, all that in them lies to make our wool a drug to us, and a monopoly to them, therefore, the politic gentlemen of Ireland have depopulated vast tracts of the best land for the feeding of sheep

I could fill a volume as large as the history of the Wise Men of Gotham, with a catalogue only of some wonderful laws and customs we have observed within thirty years past It is true, indeed, our beneficial traffic of wool with France has been our only support for several years, furnishing us with all the little money we have to pay our rents, and go to market But our merchants assure me, this trade has received a great damp by the present fluctuating condition of the coin in France, and that most of their wine is paid for in specie, without carrying thither any commodity from hence

However, since we are so universally bent upon enlarging our flocks, it may be worth inquiring what we shall do with our wool, in case Barnstaple should be overstocked, and our French commerce should fail?

I could wish the Parliament had thought fit to have suspended their regulation of church matters, and enlargements of the prerogative, until a more convenient time, because they did not appear very pressing, at least to the persons principally concerned, and, instead of these great refinements in politics and divinity, had amused themselves and their committees a little with the state of the nation For example What if the House of Commons had thought fit to make a resolution, *nemine contradicente*, against wearing any cloth or stuff in their families, which were not of the growth and manufacture of this kingdom? What if they had extended it so far as utterly to exclude all silks, velvets, calicoes, and the whole lexicon of female fopperies,

and declared, that whoever acted otherwise should be deemed and reputed an enemy to the nation? What if they had sent up such a resolution to be agreed to by the House of Lords, and by their own practice and encouragement, spread the execution of it in their several countries? What if we should agree to make burying in woollen a fashion, as our neighbours have made it a law? What if the ladies would be content with Irish stuffs for the furniture of their houses, for gowns and petticoats for themselves and their daughters? Upon the whole, and to crown all the rest, let a firm resolution be taken, by male and female, never to appear with one single shred that comes from England, and let all the people say AMEN

I hope and believe, nothing could please his Majesty better than to hear that his loyal subjects of both sexes in this kingdom celebrated his birth-day (now approaching) universally clad in their own manufacture Is there virtue enough left in this deluded people, to save them from the brink of ruin? If men's opinions may be taken, the ladies will look as handsome in stuffs as in brocades, and since all will be equal, there may be room enough to employ their wit and fancy, in choosing and matching patterns and colours I heard the late Archbishop of Tuam mention a pleasant observation of somebody's, that Ireland would never be happy, till a law were made for burning everything that came from England, except their people and their coals I must confess, that as to the former, I should not be sorry if they would stay at home, and for the latter, I hope in a little time we shall have no occasion for them

Non tanti mitra est, non tanti judicis ostrum—

but I should rejoice to see a staylace from England be thought scandalous, and become a topic for censure at visits and tea-tables

If ~~the~~ unthinking shopkeepers in this town had not been utterly destitute of common sense, they would have made some proposal to the Parliament, with a petition to the purpose I have mentioned, promising to improve the cloths and stuffs of the nation into all possible degrees of fineness 5 and colours, and engaging not to play the knave, according to their custom, by exacting and imposing upon the nobility and gentry, either as to the prices or the goodness. For I remember, in London, upon a general mourning, the rascally mercers and woollen drapers would in four-and- 10 twenty hours raise their cloths and silks to above a double price, and if the mourning continued long, then come whining with petitions to the court, that they were ready to starve, and their fineries lay upon their hands

I could wish our shopkeepers would immediately think 15 on this proposal, addressing it to all persons of quality and others, but, first, be sure to get somebody who can write sense, to put it into form

I think it needless to exhort the clergy to follow this good example, because, in a little time, those among them who 20 are so unfortunate as to have had their birth and education in this country, will think themselves abundantly happy when they can afford Irish crape, and an Athlone hat, and as to the others, I shall not presume to direct them. I have, indeed, seen the present Archbishop of Dublin clad 25 from head to foot in our own manufacture, and yet, under the rose be it spoken, his grace deserves as good a gown as if he had not been born among us

I have not courage enough to offer one syllable on this subject to their honours of the army, neither have I 30 sufficiently considered the great importance of scarlet and gold lace

The fable in Ovid of Arachne and Pallas is to this purpose —The goddess had heard of one Arachne, a young

virgin, very famous for spinning and weaving They both met upon a trial of skill, and Pallas finding herself almost equalled in her own art, stung with rage and envy, knocked her rival down, and turned her into a spider, enjoining her
5 to spin and weave for ever out of her own bowels, and in a very narrow compass

I confess, that, from a boy, I always pitied poor Arachne, and could never heartily love the goddess, on account of so cruel and unjust a sentence, which however is fully
10 executed upon us by England, with farther additions of rigour and severity, for the greatest part of our bowels and vitals is extracted, without allowing us the liberty of spinning and weaving them

The Scripture tells us, that 'oppression makes a wise
15 man mad,' therefore, consequently speaking, the reason why some men are not mad is because they are not wise. However it were to be wished, that oppression would in time teach a little wisdom to fools

I was much delighted with a person, who has a great
20 estate in this kingdom, upon his complaints to me, how grievously poor England suffers by impositions from Ireland—that we convey our own wool to France, in spite of all the harpies at the custom-house, that Mr Shuttleworth and others, on the Cheshire coasts, are such fools to sell us their
25 bark at a good price for tanning our own hides into leather, with other enormities of the like weight and kind To which I will venture to add more—that the mayoralty of this city is always executed by an inhabitant, and often by a native, which might as well be done by a deputy with a
30 moderate salary, whereby poor England loses at least one thousand pounds a-year upon the balance that the governing of this kingdom costs the lord lieutenant three thousand six hundred pounds a-year—so much net loss to poor England. that the people of Ireland presume to dig for

coals on their own grounds , and the farmers in the county of Wicklow send their turf to the very market of Dublin, to the great discouragement of the coal trade of Mostyn and Whitehaven that the revenues of the post-office here, so righteously belonging to the English treasury, as arising 5 chiefly from our own commerce with each other, should be remitted to London clogged with that grievous burden of exchange , and the pensions paid out of the Irish revenues to English favourites, should lie under the same disadvantage, to the great loss of the grantees When a divine 10 is sent over to a bishopric here, with the hopes of five-and-twenty hundred pounds a-year, and, upon his arrival, he finds, alas ! a dreadful discount of ten or twelve per cent ; a judge, or a commissioner of the revenue, has the same cause of complaint Lastly, the ballad upon Cotter is 15 vehemently suspected to be Irish manufacture, and yet is allowed to be sung in our open streets, under the very nose of the government

These are a few among the many hardships we put upon that poor kingdom of England, for which, I am confident, 20 every honest man wishes a remedy And I hear there is a project on foot, for transporting our best wheaten straw, by sea and land carriage, to Dunstable, and obliging us by a law to take off yearly so many ton of straw hats, for the use of our women , which will be a great encouragement to the 25 manufacture of that industrious town

I should be glad to learn among the divines, whether a law to bind men without their own consent be obligatory *in foro conscientiae* , because I find Scripture, Sanderson, and Suarez, are wholly silent on the matter The oracle of 30 reason, the great law of nature, and general opinion of civilians, wherever they treat of limited governments, are indeed decisive enough.

It is wonderful to observe the bias among our people in

favour of things, persons, and wares of all kinds, that come from England The printer tells his hawkers, that he has got an excellent new song, just brought from London I have somewhat of a tendency that way myself, and, upon
5 hearing a coxcomb from thence displaying himself, with great volubility, upon the park, the playhouse, the opera, the gaming ordinaries, it was apt to beget in me a kind of veneration for his parts and accomplishments It is not many years since I remember a person, who, by his style
10 and literature, seems to have been the corrector of a hedgepress in some blind alley about Little Britain, proceed gradually to be an author, at least a translator of a lower rate, although somewhat of a larger bulk, than any that now flourishes in Grub Street, and, upon the strength of this
15 foundation come over here, erect himself up into an orator and politician, and lead a kingdom after him This, I am told, was the very motive that prevailed on the author of a play, called 'Love in a hollow Tree,' to do us the honour of a visit, presuming, with very good reason, that he was a
20 writer of a superior class I know another, who, for thirty years past, has been the common standard of stupidity in England, where he was never heard a minute in any assembly, or by any party, with common Christian treatment, yet, upon his arrival here, could put on a face of
25 importance and authority, talk more than six, without either gracefulness, propriety, or meaning, and, at the same time, be admired and followed as the pattern of eloquence and wisdom

Nothing has humbled me so much, or shewn a greater
30 disposition to a contemptuous treatment of Ireland in some chief governors, than that high style of several speeches from the throne, delivered as usual, after the royal assent, in some periods of the two last reigns Such exaggerations of the prodigious condescensions in the prince to pass those

good laws would have but an odd sound at Westminster , neither do I apprehend, how any good law can pass, wherein the king's interest is not as much concerned as that of the people I remember, after a speech on the like occasion delivered by my Lord Wharton, (I think it was his 5 last,) he desired Mr Addison to ask my opinion on it My answer was, 'That his Excellency had very honestly forfeited his head on account of one paragraph, wherein he asserted, by plain consequence, a dispensing power in the Queen' His Lordship owned it was true , but swore, 'the 10 words were put into his mouth by direct orders from Court ' Whence it is clear, that some ministers in those times were apt, from their high elevation, to look down upon this kingdom as if it had been one of their colonies of outcasts in America And I observed a little of the same turn of 15 spirit in some great men from whom I expected better , although, to do them justice, it proved no kind of difficulty to make them correct their idea, whereof the whole nation quickly found the benefit —But that is forgotten How the style has since run I am wholly a stranger, having never 20 seen a speech since the last of the Queen

I would now expostulate a little with our country landlords , who, by unmeasurable screwing and racking their tenants all over the kingdom, have already reduced the miserable people to a worse condition than the peasants in 25 France, or the vassals in Germany and Poland , so that the whole species of what we call substantial farmers, will, in a very few years, be utterly at an end It was pleasant to observe these gentlemen labouring, with all their might, for preventing the bishops from letting their revenues 30 at a moderate half value, (whereby the whole order would, in an age, have been reduced to manifest beggary,) at the very instant when they were everywhere canting their own land upon short leases, and sacrificing their oldest tenants

for a penny an acre advance I know not how it comes to pass, (and yet, perhaps, I know well enough,) that slaves have a natural disposition to be tyrants, and that, when my betters give me a kick, I am apt to revenge it with six upon
5 my footman, although, perhaps, he may be an honest and diligent fellow I have heard great divines affirm, that nothing is so likely to call down a universal judgment from Heaven upon a nation as universal oppression, and whether this be not already verified in part, their worship, the land-
10 lords, are now at full leisure to consider Whoever travels this country, and observes the face of nature, or the faces, and habits, and dwellings of the natives, will hardly think himself in a land where law, religion, or common humanity, is professed

15 I cannot forbear saying one word upon a thing they call a bank, which, I fear, is projecting in this town I never saw the proposals, nor understand any one particular of their scheme What I wish for at present, is only a sufficient provision of hemp, and caps and bells, to distribute accord-
20 ing to the several degrees of honesty and prudence in some persons I hear only of a monstrous sum already named, and if others do not soon hear of it too, and hear with a vengeance, then I am a gentleman of less sagacity than myself, and very few beside myself, take me to be And
25 the jest will be still the better if it be true, as judicious persons have assured me, that one half of this money will be real, and the other half altogether imaginary The matter will be likewise much mended, if the merchants continue to carry off our gold, and our goldsmiths to melt down
30 our heavy silver

II

THE DRAPIER'S LETTERS

THE occasion which gave rise to these famous letters, and thus impelled Swift to take a more decisive part in the struggle for Irish independence, may be shortly described¹ On the 12th of July, 1722, a patent was granted to one William Wood, connected with the hardware trade, to issue a new copper coinage to take the place of the degraded copper currency which was inflicting a real hardship upon the Irish peasantry As usual in the transactions of the time, the removal of a wrong was made an occasion for jobbery, and Wood was granted, in return for bribes, of which the chief was to go to the Duchess of Kendal, the King's mistress, terms so favourable as to yield him the prospect of a handsome profit The arrangement was carried out in London, without any consultation with the Irish Government and this served to stimulate the ill-feeling which the grant of the patent, when announced, at once provoked To quell this ill-feeling, high theories of the prerogative of the Crown were propounded Some show of inquiry, however, became necessary and while this was proceeding in a perfunctory fashion in London, Swift intervened with the First Letter (which is here printed) If its statements were exaggerated, they at all events contained a germ of serious truth and they derived their chief force from the wide-spread conviction that the transaction was one in which Irish grievances were being made the occasion of English corruption Swift's Second Letter, dated 1st August, 1724, addressed to the printer, was published in anticipation of the Report of the Inquiry and its topic was the degradation of Ireland in being made dependent on the grace of Wood for some suggested modification of his patent A Third Letter, to the 'Nobility and Gentry of Ireland,' followed immediately, and again insisted upon the independence of Ireland but it is in the

¹ I must again, for a more detailed treatment of the controversy on Wood's Halfpence, refer to chap. xiii, of my '*Life of Swift*,' and to Appendix VI in the same volume

Fourth Letter (also printed in this volume) that the note is struck with most vehemence and boldness. That letter was addressed to the 'Whole People of Ireland,' and appeared on the 13th of October, 1724. The beginning and the chief tension of the struggle are thus best seen in the First and Fourth Letters, which represent the controversy in this volume.

Against this Fourth Letter a proclamation was issued, and the printer was thrown into prison. Swift boldly defied the Government, and appealed to the people of Dublin to defend their liberties by withstanding the attempt to persecute their spokesman. Again, as in the prosecution which arose out of Swift's first Irish tract, the Chief Justice Whiteshed attempted in vain to browbeat the jury. The controversy continued for some time, and Swift contributed new letters to it, some of which were not printed until the struggle had passed over. It was closed by the withdrawal of the patent. But although Swift emerged as the popular hero, Walpole remained the real conqueror. He took measures to prevent the renewal of such a coalition of various parties amongst Irish politicians as had, in this instance, given its real danger to the popular discontent against himself. His trusty agent, Dr Hugh Boulter, was appointed Archbishop of Armagh, and for the whole of Swift's life, he remained in Ireland, as the sworn defender of English interests, and the untiring henchman of Walpole in the task of making Irish administration subservient to the political exigencies of the Whigs.

BRETHREN, FRIENDS, COUNTRYMEN, AND FELLOW-SUBJECTS,—What I intend now to say to you, is, next to your duty to God, and the care of your salvation, of the greatest concern to yourselves and your children, your bread and
5 clothing, and every common necessary of life, entirely depend upon it. Therefore I do most earnestly exhort you, as men, as Christians, as parents, and as lovers of your country, to read this paper with the utmost attention, or get it read to you by others, which that you may do at the less
10 expense, I have ordered the printer to sell it at the lowest rate.

It is a great fault among you, that when a person writes with no other intention than to do you good, you will not be at the pains to read his advices. One copy of this paper

may serve a dozen of you, which will be less than a farthing a-piece. It is your folly, that you have no common or general interest in your view, not even the wisest among you, neither do you know, or inquire, or care, who are your friends, or who are your enemies 5

About four years ago a little book was written, to advise all people to wear the manufactures of this our own dear country. It had no other design, said nothing against the King or Parliament, or any person whatsoever, yet the poor printer was prosecuted two years with the utmost violence, 10 and even some weavers themselves (for whose sake it was written) being upon the JURY, found him guilty. This would be enough to discourage any man from endeavouring to do you good, when you will either neglect him, or fly in his face for his pains, and when he must expect only danger 15 to himself, and to be fined and imprisoned, perhaps to his ruin.

However, I cannot but warn you once more of the manifest destruction before your eyes, if you do not behave yourselves as you ought 20

I will therefore first tell you the plain story of the fact, and then I will lay before you how you ought to act, in common prudence, according to the laws of your country.

The fact is this. It having been many years since COPPER HALFPENCE OR FARTHINGS were last coined in this kingdom, 25 they have been for some time very scarce, and many counterfeits passed about under the name of *raps*, several applications were made to England, that we might have liberty to coin new ones, as in former times we did, but they did not succeed. At last, one Mr Wood, a mean ordinary 30 man, a hardware dealer, procured a patent under his Majesty's broad seal to coin 108,000*l* in copper for this kingdom, which patent, however, did not oblige any one here to take them, unless they pleased. Now you must

know, that the halfpence and farthings in England pass for very little more than they are worth, and if you should beat them to pieces, and sell them to the brasier, you would not lose much above a penny in a shilling. But Mr Wood
5 made his halfpence of such base metal, and so much smaller than the English ones, that the brasier would not give you above a penny of good money for a shilling of his, so that this sum of 108,000*l* in good gold and silver, must be given for trash, that will not be worth eight or nine
10 thousand pounds real value. But this is not the worst, for Mr. Wood, when he pleases, may, by stealth, send over another 108,000*l*, and buy all our goods for eleven parts in twelve under the value. For example, if a hatter sells a dozen of hats for five shillings a-piece, which amounts to
15 three pounds, and receives the payment in Wood's coin, he really receives only the value of five shillings.

Perhaps you will wonder how such an ordinary fellow as this Mr Wood could have so much interest as to get his Majesty's broad seal for so great a sum of bad money to be
20 sent to this poor country, and that all the nobility and gentry here could not obtain the same favour, and let us make our own halfpence, as we used to do. Now I will make that matter very plain. We are at a great distance from the King's court, and have nobody there to solicit for
25 us, although a great number of lords and 'squires, whose estates are here, and are our countrymen, spend all their lives and fortunes there, but this same Mr. Wood was able to attend constantly for his own interest, he is an Englishman, and had great friends; and, it seems, knew very well
30 where to give money to those that would speak to others, that could speak to the King, and would tell a fair story. And his Majesty, and perhaps the great lord or lords who advise him, might think it was for our country's good, and so, as the lawyers express it, 'the King was deceived in his

grant,' which often happens in all reigns And I am sure if his Majesty knew that such a patent, if it should take effect according to the desire of Mr Wood, would utterly ruin this kingdom, which has given such great proofs of its loyalty, he would immediately recal it, and perhaps shew 5 his displeasure to somebody or other, but a word to the wise is enough Most of you must have heard with what anger our honourable House of Commons received an account of this Wood's patent There were several fine speeches made upon it, and plain proofs, that it was all a wicked cheat from 10 the bottom to the top, and several smart votes were printed, which that same Wood had the assurance to answer likewise in print, and in so confident a way, as if he were a better man than our whole Parliament put together

This Wood, as soon as his patent was passed, or soon 15 after, sends over a great many barrells of those halfpence to Cork, and other sea-port towns, and to get them off, offered a hundred pounds in his coin, for seventy or eighty in silver, but the collectors of the King's customs very honestly refused to take them, and so did almost everybody 20 else And since the Parliament has condemned them, and desired the King that they might be stopped, all the kingdom do abominate them

But Wood is still working underhand to force his halfpence upon us, and if he can, by the help of his friends in 25 England, prevail so far as to get an order, that the commissioners and collectors of the King's money shall receive them, and that the army is to be paid with them, then he thinks his work shall be done And this is the difficulty you will be under in such a case, for the common soldier, 30 when he goes to the market, or alehouse, will offer this money, and if it be refused, perhaps he will swagger and hector, and threaten to beat the butcher or alewife, or take the goods by force, and throw them the bad halfpence. In

this and the like cases, the shopkeeper or victualler, or any other tradesman, has no more to do, than to demand ten times the price of his goods, if it is to be paid in Wood's money, for example, twenty-pence of that money for a quart
5 of ale and so in all things else, and not part with his goods till he gets the money

For, suppose you go to an alehouse with that base money, and the landlord gives you a quart for four of those half-pence, what must the victualler do? his brewer will not be
10 paid in that coin, or, if the brewer should be such a fool, the farmers will not take it from them for their bere, because they are bound, by their leases, to pay their rent in good and lawful money of England, which this is not, nor of Ireland neither, and the 'squire, their landlord, will never
15 be so bewitched to take such trash for his land, so that it must certainly stop somewhere or other, and wherever it stops, it is the same thing, and we are all undone

The common weight of these halfpence is between four and five to an ounce—suppose five, then three shillings
20 and fourpence will weigh a pound, and consequently twenty shillings will weigh six pounds butter weight. Now there are many hundred farmers, who pay two hundred pounds a-year rent, therefore, when one of these farmers comes with his half-year's rent, which is one hundred pounds,
25 it will be at least six hundred pounds weight, which is three horses' load

If a 'squire has a mind to come to town to buy clothes, and wine, and spices for himself and family, or perhaps to pass the winter here, he must bring with him five or six
30 horses well loaden with sacks, as the farmers bring their corn, and when his lady comes in her coach to our shops, it must be followed by a car loaded with Mr Wood's money. And I hope we shall have the grace to take it for no more than it is worth

They say 'Squire Conolly has sixteen thousand pounds a-year , now, if he sends for his rent to town, as it is likely he does, he must have two hundred and fifty horses to bring up his half-year's rent, and two or three great cellars in his house for stowage But what the bankers will do, I cannot 5 tell , for I am assured, that some great bankers keep by them forty thousand pounds in ready cash, to answer all payments , which sum, in Mr Wood's money, would require twelve hundred horses to carry it

• For my own part, I am already resolved what to do I 10 have a pretty good shop of Irish stuffs and silks , and instead of taking Mr Wood's bad copper, I intend to truck with my neighbours the butchers and bakers and brewers, and the rest, goods for goods , and the little gold and silver I have, I will keep by me, like my heart's blood, till better 15 times, or until I am just ready to starve , and then I will buy Mr Wood's money, as my father did the brass money in King James's time, who could buy ten pounds of it with a guinea , and I hope to get as much for a pistole, and so purchase bread from those who will be such fools as to sell 20 it me

These halfpence, if they once pass, will soon be counterfeited, because it may be cheaply done, the stuff is so base The Dutch likewise will probably do the same thing, and send them over to us to pay for our goods , and Mr Wood 25 will never be at rest, but coin on so that in some years we shall have at least five times 108,000*l* of this lumber Now the current money of this kingdom is not reckoned to be above four hundred thousand pounds in all , and while there is a silver sixpence left, these blood-suckers will never 30 be quiet

When once the kingdom is reduced to such a condition, I will tell you what must be the end the gentlemen of estates will all turn off their tenants for want of payments,

because, as I told you before, the tenants are obliged by their leases to pay sterling, which is lawful current money of England, then they will turn their own farmers, as too many of them do already, run all into sheep, where they
5 can, keeping only such other cattle as are necessary, then they will be their own merchants, and send their wool, and butter, and hides, and linen, beyond sea, for ready money, and wine, and spices, and silks. They will keep only a few miserable cottagers the farmers must rob, or beg, or leave
10 their country, the shopkeepers in this, and every other town, must break and starve, for it is the landed man that maintains the merchant, the shopkeeper, and handicraftsman

But when the 'squire turns farmer and merchant himself,
15 all the good money he gets from abroad, he will hoard up to send for England, and keep some poor tailor or weaver, and the like, in his own house, who will be glad to get bread at any rate

I should never have done, if I were to tell you all the
20 miseries that we shall undergo, if we be so foolish and wicked as to take this cursed coin. It would be very hard, if all Ireland should be put into one scale, and this sorry fellow Wood into the other, that Mr Wood should weigh down this whole kingdom, by which England gets above
25 million of good money every year clear into their pockets and that is more than the English do by all the world besides

But your great comfort is, that as his Majesty's patent does not oblige you to take this money, so the laws have not given the crown a power of forcing the subject to take
30 what money the King pleases, for then, by the same reason, we might be bound to take pebble-stones, or cockle-shells, or stamped leather, for current coin, if ever we should happen to live under an ill prince, who might likewise, by the same power, make a guinea pass for ten pounds, a

shilling for twenty shillings, and so on, by which he would, in a short time, get all the silver and gold of the kingdom into his own hands, and leave us nothing but brass or leather, or what he pleased. Neither is anything reckoned more cruel and oppressive in the French government, than 5 their common practice of calling in all their money, after they have sunk it very low, and then coining it anew at a much higher value, which, however, is not the thousandth part so wicked as this abominable project of Mr Wood. For, the French give their subjects silver for silver, and 10 gold for gold, but this fellow will not so much as give us good brass or copper for our gold and silver, nor even a twelfth part of their worth.

Having said thus much, I will now go on to tell you the judgment of some great lawyers in this matter, whom I fee'd 15 on purpose for your sakes, and got their opinions under their hands, that I might be sure I went upon good grounds.

A famous law-book, called '*The Mirror of Justice*,' discoursing of the charters (or laws) ordained by our ancient 20 kings, declares the law to be as follows: 'It was ordained that no king of this realm should change or impair the money, or make any other money than of gold or silver, without the assent of all the counties,' that is, as my Lord Coke says, without the assent of Parliament. 25

This book is very ancient, and of great authority for the time in which it was written, and with that character is often quoted by that great lawyer my Lord Coke. By the law of England, the several metals are divided into lawful or true metal, and unlawful or false metal, the former comprehends 30 silver and gold, the latter all baser metals. That the former is only to pass in payments, appears by an act of Parliament made the twentieth year of Edward the First, called the statute concerning the passing of pence, which I give you

here as I got it translated into English, for some of our laws at that time were, as I am told, written in Latin
‘Whoever, in buying or selling, presumes to refuse a half-penny or farthing of lawful money, bearing the stamp which
5 it ought to have, let him be seized on as a contemner of the King’s majesty, and cast into prison’

By this statute, no person is to be reckoned a contemner of the King’s majesty, and for that crime to be committed to prison, but he who refuses to accept the King’s coin
10 made of lawful metal, by which, as I observed before, silver and gold only are intended

That this is the true construction of the act, appears not only from the plain meaning of the words, but from my Lord Coke’s observation upon it ‘By this act,’ says he,
15 ‘it appears, that no subject can be forced to take, in buying, or selling, or other payment, any money made but of lawful metal, that is, of silver or gold’

The law of England gives the King all mines of gold and silver, but not the mines of other metals, the reason of
20 which prerogative or power, as it is given by my Lord Coke, is, because money can be made of gold and silver, but not of other metals

Pursuant to this opinion, halfpence and farthings were anciently made of silver, which is evident from the Act of
25 Parliament of Henry the Fourth, chap 4, whereby it is enacted as follows ‘Item, for the great scarcity that is at present within the realm of England of halfpence and farthings of silver, it is ordained and established, that the third part of all the money of silver plate which shall be
30 brought to the bullion, shall be made into halfpence and farthings’. This shews that by the words ‘halfpence and farthings of lawful money,’ in that statute concerning the passing of pence, is meant a small coin in halfpence and farthings of silver

This is farther manifest from the statute of the ninth year of Edward the Third, chap 3, which enacts, 'that no sterling halfpenny or farthing be molten for to make vessels, or any other thing, by the goldsmiths, or others, upon forfeiture of the money so molten' (or melted) 5

By another act in this King's reign, black money was not to be current in England And by an act in the eleventh year of his reign, chap 5, galley halfpence were not to pass. What kind of coin these were, I do not know, but I presume they were made of base metal And these acts 10 were no new laws, but farther declarations of the old laws relative to the coin

Thus the law stands in relation to coin Nor is there any example to the contrary, except one in Davis's Reports, who tells us, 'that in the time of Tyrone's rebellion, Queen 15 Elizabeth ordered money of mixed metal to be coined in the Tower of London, and sent over hither for the payment of the army, obliging all people to receive it, and commanding that all silver money should be taken only as bullion,' that is, for as much as it weighed Davis tells us 20 several particulars in this matter, too long here to trouble you with, and 'that the privy-council of this kingdom obliged a merchant in England to receive this mixed money for goods transmitted hither'

But this proceeding is rejected by all the best lawyers, as 25 contrary to law, the Privy-council here having no such legal power And besides, it is to be considered, that the Queen was then under great difficulties by a rebellion in this kingdom, assisted from Spain, and whatever is done in great exigencies and dangerous times, should never be an 30 example to proceed by in seasons of peace and quietness

I will now, my dear friends, to save you the trouble, set before you, in short, what the law obliges you to do, and what it does not oblige you to.

First, You are obliged to take all money in payments which is coined by the King, and is of the English standard or weight, provided it be of gold or silver

Secondly, You are not obliged to take any money which
5 is not of gold or silver, not only the halfpence or farthings of England, but of any other country And it is merely for convenience, or ease, that you are content to take them, because the custom of coining silver halfpence and farthings has long been left off, I suppose on account of their being
10 subject to be lost

Thirdly, Much less are you obliged to take those vile halfpence of the same Wood, by which you must lose almost eleven pence in every shilling

Therefore, my friends, stand to it one and all refuse this
15 filthy trash It is no treason to rebel against Mr Wood His Majesty, in his patent, obliges nobody to take these halfpence. our gracious prince has no such ill advisers about him, or, if he had, yet you see the laws have not left it in the King's power to force us to take any coin but what
20 is lawful, of right standard, gold and silver. Therefore you have nothing to fear

And let me in the next place apply myself particularly to you who are the poorer sort of tradesmen Perhaps you may think you will not be so great losers as the rich, if these
25 halfpence should pass, because you seldom see any silver, and your customers come to your shops or stalls with nothing but brass, which you likewise find hard to be got. But you may take my word, whenever this money gains footing among you, you will be utterly undone If you
30 carry these halfpence to a shop for tobacco or brandy, or any other thing that you want, the shopkeeper will advance his goods accordingly, or else he must break, and leave the key under the door 'Do you think I will sell you a yard of ten-penny stuff for twenty of Mr Wood's halfpence? No,

not under two hundred at least ; neither will I be at the trouble of counting, but weigh them in a lump ' I will tell you one thing farther, that if Mr Wood's project should take, it would ruin even our beggars , for when I give a beggar a halfpenny, it will quench his thirst, or go a good way to fill his belly , but the twelfth part of a halfpenny will do him no more service than if I should give him three pins out of my sleeve

In short, these halfpence are like 'the accursed thing, which,' as the Scripture tells us, 'the children of Israel were forbidden to touch' They will run about like the plague, and destroy every one who lays his hand upon them I have heard scholars talk of a man who told the king, that he had invented a way to torment people, by putting them into a bull of brass with fire under it , but the prince put the projector first into his brazen bull, to make the experiment This very much resembles the project of Mr Wood, and the like of this may possibly be Mr Wood's fate , that the brass he contrived to torment this kingdom with, may prove his own torment, and his destruction at last

N B The author of this paper is informed by persons, who have made it their business to be exact in their observations on the true value of these halfpence, that any person may expect to get a quart of twopenny ale for thirty-six of them

I desire that all families may keep this paper carefully by them, to refresh their memories whenever they shall have farther notice of Mr Wood's halfpence, or any other the like imposture

LETTER IV

10

THE WHOLE PEOPLE OF IRELAND

October 23, 1724

MY DEAR COUNTRYMEN,—Having already written three letters upon so disagreeable a subject as Mr Wood and his halfpence, I conceived my task was at an end, but I find that cordials must be frequently applied to weak constitutions, political as well as natural. A people long used to hardships lose by degrees the very notions of liberty. They look upon themselves as creatures at mercy, and that all impositions, laid on them by a stronger hand, are, in the phrase of the Report, legal and obligatory. Hence proceed
10 that poverty and lowness of spirit, to which a kingdom may be subject, as well as a particular person. And when Esau came fainting from the field at the point to die, it is no wonder that he sold his birthright for a mess of pottage.

I thought I had sufficiently shewn, to all who could want
15 instruction, by what methods they might safely proceed, whenever this coin should be offered to them, and, I believe, there has not been, for many ages, an example of any kingdom so firmly united in a point of great importance, as this of ours is at present against that detestable fraud. But,
20 however, it so happens, that some weak people begin to be alarmed anew by rumours industriously spread. Wood prescribes to the newsmongers in London what they are to write. In one of their papers, published here by some

obscure printer, and certainly with a bad design, we are told, 'That the Papists in Ireland have entered into an association against his coin,' although it be notoriously known, that they never once offered to stir in the matter, so that the two Houses of Parliament, the Privy-council, 5 the great number of corporations, the lord mayor and aldermen of Dublin, the grand juries, and principal gentlemen of several counties, are stigmatized in a lump under the name of 'Papists'

This impostor and his crew do likewise give out, that, by 10 refusing to receive his dross for sterling, we 'dispute the King's prerogative, are grown ripe for rebellion, and ready to shake off the dependency of Ireland upon the crown of England' To countenance which reports, he has published a paragraph in another newspaper, to let us know, that 'the 15 Lord-lieutenant is ordered to come over immediately to settle his halfpence'

I entreat you, my dear countrymen, not to be under the least concern upon these and the like rumours, which are no more than the last howls of a dog dissected alive, as I hope 20 he has sufficiently been These calumnies are the only reserve that is left him For surely our continued and (almost) unexampled loyalty, will never be called in question, for not suffering ourselves to be robbed of all that we have by one obscure ironmonger 25

As to disputing the King's prerogative, give me leave to explain, to those who are ignorant, what the meaning of that word *prerogative* is

The Kings of these realms enjoy several powers, wherein the laws have not interposed So, they can make war and 30 peace without the consent of Parliament—and this is a very great prerogative but if the Parliament does not approve of the war, the King must bear the charge of it out of his own purse—and this is a great check on the crown.

So, the King has a prerogative to coin money without consent of Parliament, but he cannot compel the subject to take that money, except it be sterling gold or silver, because herein he is limited by law. Some princes have, indeed, 5 extended their prerogative farther than the law allowed them, wherein, however, the lawyers of succeeding ages, as fond as they are of precedents, have never dared to justify them. But, to say the truth, it is only of late times that prerogative has been fixed and ascertained, for, whoever 10 reads the history of England will find, that some former Kings, and those none of the worst, have, upon several occasions, ventured to control the laws, with very little ceremony or scruple, even later than the days of Queen Elizabeth. In her reign, that pernicious counsel of sending 15 base money hither, very narrowly failed of losing the kingdom—being complained of by the lord-deputy, the council, and the whole body of the English here, so that, soon after her death, it was recalled by her successor, and lawful money paid in exchange.

20 Having thus given you some notion of what is meant by 'the King's prerogative,' as far as a tradesman can be thought capable of explaining it, I will only add the opinion of the great Lord Bacon. 'That, as God governs the world by the settled laws of nature, which he has made, and never 25 transcends those laws but upon high important occasions, so, among earthly princes, those are the wisest and the best, who govern by the known laws of the country, and seldome make use of their prerogative.'

Now here you may see, that the vile accusation of Wood 30 and his accomplices, charging us with disputing the King's prerogative by refusing his brass, can have no place—because compelling the subject to take any coin which is not sterling, is no part of the King's prerogative, and, I am very confident, if it were so, we should be the last of his

people to dispute it, as well from that inviolable loyalty we have always paid to his Majesty, as from the treatment we might, in such a case, justly expect from some, who seem to think we have neither common sense, nor common senses. But, God be thanked, the best of them are only our fellow-⁵ subjects, and not our masters. One great merit I am sure we have, which those of English birth can have no pretence to—that our ancestors reduced this kingdom to the obedience of England, for which we have been rewarded with a worse climate,—the privilege of being governed by ¹⁰ laws to which we do not consent,—a ruined trade,—a House of Peers without jurisdiction,—almost an incapacity for all employments,—and the dread of Wood's halfpence.

But we are so far from disputing the King's prerogative in coining, that we own he has power to give a patent to any ¹⁵ man for setting his royal image and superscription upon whatever materials he pleases, and liberty to the patentee to offer them in any country from England to Japan, only attended with one small limitation—that nobody alive is obliged to take them ²⁰

Upon these considerations, I was ever against all recourse to England for a remedy against the present impending evil, especially when I observed, that the addresses of both Houses, after long expectance, produced nothing but a REPORT, altogether in favour of Wood, upon which I made ²⁵ some observations in a former letter, and might at least have made as many more, for it is a paper of as singular a nature as I ever beheld.

But I mistake, for, before this Report was made, his Majesty's most gracious answer to the House of Lords was ³⁰ sent over, and printed, wherein are these words, granting the patent for coining halfpence and farthings, AGREEABLE TO THE PRACTICE OF HIS ROYAL PREDECESSORS, &c. That King Charles II and King James II (AND THEY

ONLY,) did grant patents for this purpose, is indisputable, and I have shewn it at large Their patents were passed under the great seal of Ireland, by references to Ireland, the copper to be coined in Ireland, the patentee was bound, 5 on demand, to receive his coin back in Ireland, and pay silver and gold in return Wood's patent was made under the great seal of England, the brass coined in England; not the least reference made to Ireland, the sum immense, and the patentee under no obligation to receive it again, 10 and give good money for it This I only mention, because, in my private thoughts, I have sometimes made a query, whether the penner of those words in his Majesty's most gracious answer, 'agreeable to the practice of his royal predecessors,' had maturely considered the several cir- 15 cumstances, which, in my poor opinion, seem to make a difference

Let me now say something concerning the other great cause of some people's fear, as Wood has taught the London newswriter to express it, that his Excellency the Lord- 20 lieutenant is coming over to settle Wood's halfpence *

We know very well, that the Lords-lieutenants, for several years past, have not thought this kingdom worthy the honour of their residence longer than was absolutely necessary for the King's business, which, consequently, 25 wanted no speed in the dispatch And therefore it naturally fell into most men's thoughts, that a new governor, coming at an unusual time, must portend some unusual business to be done, especially if the common report be true, that the Parliament, prorogued to I know not when, 30 is by a new summons, revoking that prorogation, to assemble soon after the arrival, for which extraordinary proceeding, the lawyers on the other side the water have, by great good fortune, found two precedents.

All this being granted, it can never enter into my head,

that so little a creature as Wood would find credit enough with the King and his ministers, to have the Lord-lieutenant of Ireland sent hither in a hurry upon his errand

For, let us take the whole matter nakedly as it lies before us, without the refinements of some people with which we 5 have nothing to do Here is a patent granted under the great seal of England, upon false suggestions, to one William Wood, for coining copper halfpence for Ireland The Parliament here, upon apprehensions of the worst consequences from the said patent, address the King to have it 10 recalled This is refused, and a committee of the Privy-council report to his Majesty, that Wood has performed the conditions of his patent He then is left to do the best he can with his halfpence, no man being obliged to receive them, the people here, being likewise left to themselves, 15 unite as one man, resolving they will have nothing to do with his ware

By this plain account of the fact it is manifest, that the King and his ministry are wholly out of the case, and the matter is left to be disputed between him and us Will 20 any man, therefore, attempt to persuade me, that a Lord-lieutenant is to be dispatched over in great haste before the ordinary time, and a Parliament summoned by anticipating a prorogation, merely to put a hundred thousand pounds into the pocket of a sharper, by the ruin of a most loyal 25 kingdom?

But, supposing all this to be true, by what arguments could a Lord-lieutenant prevail on the same Parliament which addressed with so much zeal and earnestness against this evil, to pass it into a law? I am sure their opinion of 30 Wood and his project is not mended since their last prorogation, and, supposing those methods should be used, which detractors tell us have been sometimes put in practice for gaining votes, it is well known, that, in this kingdom, there

are few employments to be given , and, if there were more, it is as well known to whose share they must fall

But, because great numbers of you are altogether ignorant of the affairs of your country, I will tell you some reasons
5 why there are so few employments to be disposed of in this kingdom

All considerable offices for life are here possessed by those to whom the reversions were granted , and these have been generally followers of the chief governors, or persons
10 who had interest in the Court of England So, the Lord Berkeley of Stratton holds that great office of master of the rolls , the Lord Palmerstown is first remembrancer, worth near £2000 per annum One Dodington, secretary to the Earl of Pembroke, begged the reversion of clerk of the pells,
15 worth £2500 a year, which he now enjoys by the death of the Lord Newtown Mr Southwell is secretary of state, and the Earl of Burlington lord high treasurer of Ireland by inheritance These are only a few among many others which I have been told of, but cannot remember Nay, the
20 reversion of several employments, during pleasure, is granted the same way This, among many others, is a circumstance, whereby the kingdom of Ireland is distinguished from all other nations upon earth , and makes it so difficult an affair to get into a civil employ, that Mr Addison was forced to
25 purchase an old obscure place, called keeper of the records in Bermingham's Tower, of £10 a-year, and to get a salary of £400 annexed to it, though all the records there are not worth half-a-crown, either for curiosity or use And we lately saw a favourite secretary descend to be master of the
30 revels, which, by his credit and extortion, he has made pretty considerable I say nothing of the under-treasurer-ship, worth about £9000 a-year, nor of the commissioners of the revenue, four of whom generally live in England, for I think none of these are granted in reversion. But the

jest is, that I have known, upon occasion, some of these absent officers as keen against the interest of Ireland, as if they had never been indebted to her for a single groat

I confess, I have been sometimes tempted to wish, that this project of Wood's might succeed, because I reflected 5 with some pleasure, what a jolly crew it would bring over among us of lords and squires, and pensioners of both sexes, and officers civil and military, where we should live together as merry and sociable as beggars, only with this one abatement, that we should neither have meat to feed, nor manu- 10 factures to clothe us, unless we could be content to prance about in coats of mail, or eat brass as ostriches do iron.

I return from this digression to that which gave me the occasion of making it And I believe you are now convinced, that if the Parliament of Ireland were as temptable 15 as any other assembly within a mile of Christendom, (which God forbid!) yet the managers must of necessity fail for want of tools to work with But I will yet go one step farther, by supposing that a hundred new employments were erected on purpose to gratify compliers, yet still 20 an insuperable difficulty would remain For it happens, I know not how, that money is neither Whig nor Tory—neither of town nor country party, and it is not improbable, that a gentleman would rather choose to live upon his own estate, which brings him gold and silver, than with the 25 addition of an employment, when his rents and salary must both be paid in Wood's brass, at above eighty per cent. discount.

For these, and many other reasons, I am confident you need not be under the least apprehension from the sudden 30 expectation of the Lord-lieutenant, while we continue in our present hearty disposition, to alter which no suitable temptation can possibly be offered And if, as I have often asserted from the best authority, the law has not left a power

in the crown to force any money, except sterling, upon the subject, much less can the crown devolve such a power upon another

This I speak with the utmost respect to the person and 5 dignity of his excellency the Lord Carteret, whose character was lately given me by a gentleman that has known him from his first appearance in the world That gentleman describes him as a young nobleman of great accomplishments, excellent learning, regular in his life, and of much 10 spirit and vivacity He has since, as I have heard, been employed abroad, was principal secretary of state, and is now, about the thirty-seventh year of his age, appointed Lord-lieutenant of Ireland From such a governor, this kingdom may reasonably hope for as much prosperity, as, 15 under so many discouragements, it can be capable of receiving.

It is true, indeed, that, within the memory of man, there have been governors of so much dexterity, as to carry points of terrible consequence to this kingdom, by their power 20 with those who are in office, and by their arts in managing or deluding others with oaths, affability, and even with dinners If Wood's brass had in those times been upon the anvil, it is obvious enough to conceive what methods would have been taken Depending persons would have 25 been told in plain terms, 'that it was a service expected from them, under the pain of the public business being put into more complying hands' Others would be allured by promises To the country gentlemen, beside good words, burgundy, and closeting, it might perhaps have been hinted, 30 'how kindly it would be taken to comply with a royal patent, although it were not compulsory, that if any inconveniences ensued, it might be made up with other graces or favours hereafter, that gentlemen ought to consider whether it were prudent or safe to disgust England They would be desired

to think of some good bills for encouraging of trade, and setting the poor to work, some farther acts against Popery, and for uniting Protestants' There would be solemn engagements, 'that we should never be troubled with above forty thousand pounds in his coin, and all of the best and weightiest sort, for which we should only give our manufactures in exchange, and keep our gold and silver at home' Perhaps a seasonable report of some invasion would have been spread in the most proper juncture, which is a great smoothen of rubs in public proceedings, and we should have been told, 'that this was no time to create differences, when the kingdom was in danger'

These, I say, and the like methods, would, in corrupt times, have been taken to let in this deluge of brass among us, and I am confident, even then, would not have succeeded, much less under the administration of so excellent a person as the Lord Carteret, and in a country where the people of all ranks, parties, and denominations, are convinced to a man, that the utter undoing of themselves and their posterity for ever, will be dated from the admission of that execrable coin, that if it once enters, it can be no more confined to a small or moderate quantity, than a plague can be confined to a few families, and that no equivalent can be given by any earthly power, any more than a dead carcass can be recovered to life by a cordial

There is one comfortable circumstance in this universal opposition to Mr Wood, that the people sent over hither from England, to fill up our vacancies, ecclesiastical, civil, and military, are all on our side Money, the great divider of the world, has, by a strange revolution, been the great uniter of a most divided people Who would leave a hundred pounds a-year in England (a country of freedom) to be paid a thousand in Ireland out of Wood's exchequer? The gentleman they have lately made primate, would never

quit his seat in an English House of Lords, and his preferments at Oxford and Bristol, worth twelve hundred pounds a-year, for four times the denomination here, but not half the value, therefore I expect to hear he will be as good an Irishman, at least upon this one article, as any of his brethren, or even of us, who have had the misfortune to be born in this island. For, those who in the common phrase do not come hither to learn the language, would never change a better country for a worse, to receive brass instead
10 of gold

Another slander spread by Wood and his emissaries, is, 'that by opposing him, we discover an inclination to throw off our dependence upon the crown of England' Pray observe how important a person is this same William Wood,
15 and how the public weal of two kingdoms is involved in his private interest. First, all those who refuse to take his coin are Papists, for he tells us, 'that none but Papists are associated against him.' Secondly, 'they dispute the King's prerogative' Thirdly, 'they are ripe for rebellion'
20 And, fourthly, 'they are going to shake off their dependence upon the crown of England,' that is to say, they are going to choose another king, for there can be no other meaning in this expression, however some may pretend to strain it.

And this gives me an opportunity of explaining to those
25 who are ignorant, another point, which has often swelled in my breast. Those who come over hither to us from England, and some weak people among ourselves, whenever in discourse we make mention of liberty and property, shake their heads, and tell us, that 'Ireland is a depending
30 kingdom,' as if they would seem by this phrase to intend, that the people of Ireland are in some state of slavery or dependence different from those of England whereas a depending kingdom is a modern term of art, unknown as I have heard to all ancient civilians, and writers upon govern-

ment, and Ireland is, on the contrary, called in some statutes 'an imperial crown,' as held only from God, which is as high a style as any kingdom is capable of receiving. Therefore, by this expression, 'a depending kingdom,' there is no more to be understood, than that, by a statute 5 made here in the thirty-third year of Henry VIII, the King, and his successors, are to be kings imperial of this realm, as united and knit to the imperial crown of England. I have looked over all the English and Irish statutes, without finding any law that makes Ireland depend upon England, 10 any more than England does upon Ireland. We have indeed obliged ourselves to have the same king with them, and consequently they are obliged to have the same king with us. For the law was made by our own Parliament, and our ancestors then were not such fools (whatever they were 15 in the preceding reign) to bring themselves under I know not what dependence, which is now talked of, without any ground of law, reason, or common sense.

Let whoever thinks otherwise I, M. B., drapier, desire to be excepted, for I declare, next under God, I depend only 20 on the King my sovereign, and on the laws of my own country. And I am so far from depending upon the people of England, that if they should ever rebel against my sovereign (which God forbid!) I would be ready, at the first command from his Majesty, to take arms against them, 25 as some of my countrymen did against theirs at Preston. And if such a rebellion should prove so successful as to fix the Pretender on the throne of England, I would venture to transgress that statute so far, as to lose every drop of my blood to hinder him from being King of Ireland. 30

It is true, indeed, that within the memory of man, the Parliaments of England have sometimes assumed the power of binding this kingdom by laws enacted there, wherein they were at first openly opposed (as far as truth,

reason, and justice, are capable of opposing) by the famous Mr Molineux, an English gentleman born here, as well as by several of the greatest patriots and best Whigs in England, but the love and torrent of power prevailed
5 Indeed the arguments on both sides were invincible For, in reason, all government without the consent of the governed, is the very definition of slavery, but, in fact, eleven men well armed will certainly subdue one single man in his shirt But I have done, for those who have
10 used to cramp liberty, have gone so far as to resent even the liberty of complaining, although a man upon the rack was never known to be refused the liberty of roaring as loud as he thought fit

And as we are apt to sink too much under unreasonable
15 fears, so we are too soon inclined to be raised by groundless hopes, according to the nature of all consumptive bodies like ours Thus it has been given about, for several days past, that somebody in England empowered a second somebody, to write to a third somebody here, to assure us
20 that we should no more be troubled with these halfpence And this is reported to have been done by the same person, who is said to have sworn some months ago, 'that he would ram them down our throats,' though I doubt they would stick in our stomachs, but whichever of these reports be
25 true or false, it is no concern of ours For, in this point, we have nothing to do with English ministers, and I should be sorry to leave it in their power to redress this grievance, or to enforce it, for the report of the Committee has given me a surfeit The remedy is wholly in your own hands,
30 and therefore I have digressed a little, in order to refresh and continue that spirit so seasonably raised among you, and to let you see, that by the laws of GOD, of NATURE, of NATIONS, and of your COUNTRY, you ARE, and OUGHT to be, as FREE a people as your brethren in England

If the pamphlets published at London by Wood and his journeymen, in defence of his cause, were reprinted here, and our countrymen could be persuaded to read them, they would convince you of his wicked design more than all I shall ever be able to say. In short, I make him a perfect saint in comparison of what he appears to be from the writings of those whom he hires to justify his project. But he is so far master of the field (let others guess the reason) that no London printer dare publish any paper written in favour of Ireland, and here nobody as yet has been so bold as to publish anything in favour of him.

There was, a few days ago, a pamphlet sent me, of near fifty pages, written in favour of Mr Wood and his coinage, printed in London, it is not worth answering, because probably it will never be published here. But it gave me occasion to reflect upon an unhappiness we lie under, that the people of England are utterly ignorant of our case, which, however, is no wonder, since it is a point they do not in the least concern themselves about, farther than perhaps as a subject of discourse in a coffee-house, when they have nothing else to talk of. For I have reason to believe, that no minister ever gave himself the trouble of reading any papers written in our defence, because I suppose their opinions are already determined, and are formed wholly upon the reports of Wood and his accomplices, else it would be impossible that any man could have the impudence to write such a pamphlet as I have mentioned.

Our neighbours, whose understandings are just upon a level with ours (which perhaps are none of the brightest), have a strong contempt for most nations, but especially for Ireland. They look upon us as a sort of savage Irish, whom our ancestors conquered several hundred years ago. And if I should describe the Britons to you as they were in Cæsar's time, when they painted their bodies, or clothed

themselves with the skins of beasts, I should act* full as reasonably as they do. However, they are so far to be excused in relation to the present subject, that hearing only one side of the cause, and having neither opportunity nor
5 curiosity to examine the other, they believe a lie merely for their ease, and conclude, because Mr Wood pretends to power he has also reason on his side

Therefore, to let you see how this case is represented in England by Wood and his adherents, I have thought it
10 proper to extract out of that pamphlet a few of those notorious falsehoods, in point of fact and reasoning, contained therein, the knowledge whereof will confirm my countrymen in their own right sentiments, when they will see, by comparing both, how much their enemies are in the
15 wrong

First, the writer positively asserts, 'that Wood's halfpence were current among us for several months, with the universal approbation of all people, without one single gainsayer, and we all, to a man, thought ourselves happy in
20 having them'

Secondly, he affirms, 'that we were drawn into dislike of them only by some cunning, evil-designing men among us, who opposed this patent of Wood to get another for themselves,

25 Thirdly, 'that those who most declared at first against Wood's patent, were the very men who intend to get another for their own advantage'

Fourthly, 'that our Parliament and Privy-council, the Lord Mayor and aldermen of Dublin, the grand juries and
30 merchants, and, in short, the whole kingdom, nay, the very dogs,' as he expresses it, 'were fond of those halfpence, till they were inflamed by those few designing persons aforesaid'

Fifthly, he says directly, 'that all those who opposed the halfpence, were Papists, and enemies to King George.'

Thus far, I am confident, the most ignorant among you can safely swear, from your own knowledge, that the author is a most notorious liar in every article ; the direct contrary being so manifest to the whole kingdom, that, if occasion required, we might get it confirmed under five hundred 5 thousand hands

· Sixthly, he would persuade us, ' that if we sell five shillings worth of our goods or manufactures for two shillings and fourpence worth of copper, although the copper were melted down, and that we could get five shillings in gold and silver 10 for the said goods , yet to take the said two shillings and fourpence in copper, would be greatly for our advantage '

And, lastly, he makes us a very fair offer, as empowered by Wood, ' that if we will take off two hundred thousand pounds in his halfpence for our goods, and likewise pay him 15 three per cent interest for thirty years for a hundred and twenty thousand pounds (at which he computes the coinage above the intrinsic value of the copper) for the loan of his coin, he will after that time give us good money for what halfpence will be then left ' 20

Let me place this offer in as clear a light as I can, to show the insupportable villainy and impudence of that incorrigible wretch ' First,' says he, ' I will send two hundred thousand pounds of my coin into your country , the copper I compute to be, in real value, eighty thousand pounds, and I charge 25 you with a hundred and twenty thousand pounds for the coinage , so that, you see, I lend you a hundred and twenty thousand pounds for thirty years , for which you shall pay me three per cent , that is to say, three thousand six hundred pounds per annum, which in thirty years will amount to a 30 hundred and eight thousand pounds And when these thirty years are expired, return me my copper, and I will give you good money for it '

This is the proposal made to us by Wood in that

pamphlet, written by one of his commissioners and the author is supposed to be the same infamous Coleby, one of his under-swearers at the committee of council, who was tried for robbing the treasury here, where he was an under-
5 clerk

By this proposal, he will, first, receive two hundred thousand pounds in goods or sterling, for as much copper as he values at eighty thousand pounds, but in reality not worth thirty thousand pounds Secondly, he will receive
10 for interest a hundred and eight thousand pounds and when our children come thirty years hence to return his halfpence upon his executors (for before that time he will be probably gone to his own place) those executors will very reasonably reject them as raps and counterfeits, which
15 they will be, and millions of them of his own coinage

Methinks I am fond of such a dealer as this, who mends every day upon our hands, like a Dutch reckoning, wherein if you dispute the unreasonableness and exorbitance of the bill, the landlord shall bring it up every time with new
20 additions

Although these, and the like pamphlets, published by Wood in London, are altogether unknown here, where nobody could read them without as much indignation as contempt would allow, yet I thought it proper to give you
25 a specimen how the man employs his time, where he rides alone without any creature to contradict him, while our FEW FRIENDS there wonder at our silence and the English in general, if they think of this matter at all, impute our refusal to wilfulness or disaffection, just as Wood and his
30 hirelings are pleased to represent

But although our arguments are not suffered to be printed in England, yet the consequence will be of little moment. Let Wood endeavour to persuade the people there, that we ought to receive his coin, and let me convince our people

here, that they ought to reject it, under pain of our utter undoing, and then let him do his best and his worst

Before I conclude, I must beg leave, in all humility, to tell Mr Wood, that he is guilty of great indiscretion, by causing so honourable a name as that of Mr. Walpole to 5 be mentioned so often, and in such a manner, upon this occasion A short paper printed at Bristol, and reprinted here, reports Mr Wood to say, 'that he wonders at the impudence and insolence of the Irish in refusing his coin, and what he will do when Mr Walpole comes to town' 10 Where, by the way, he is mistaken, for it is the true English people of Ireland who refuse it, although we take it for granted that the Irish will do so too whenever they are asked In another printed paper of his contriving, it is roundly expressed, 'that Mr Walpole will cram his brass 15 down our throats' Sometimes it is given out, 'that we must either take those halfpence, or eat our brogues' and in another newsletter, but of yesterday, we read, 'that the same great man has sworn to make us swallow his coin in fire-balls' 20

This brings to my mind the known story of a Scotchman, who, receiving the sentence of death with all the circumstances of hanging, beheading, quartering, embowelling, and the like, cried out, 'What need all this COOKERY?' And I think we have reason to ask the same question, for, 25 if we believe Wood, here is a dinner ready for us; and you see the bill of fare, and I am sorry the drink was forgot, which might easily be supplied with melted lead and flaming pitch

What vile words are these to put into the mouth of a great 30 counsellor, in high trust with his majesty, and looked upon as a prime-minister? If Mr Wood has no better a manner of representing his patrons, when I come to be a great man he shall never be suffered to attend at my levee This is

not the style of a great minister, it savours too much of the kettle and the furnace, and came entirely out of Wood's forge

As for the threat of making us eat our brogues, we need
5 not be in pain, for, if his coin should pass, that unpolite covering for the feet would no longer be a national reproach, because then we should have neither shoe nor brogue left in the kingdom. But here the falsehood of Mr Wood is fairly detected, for I am confident Mr Walpole never heard of
10 a brogue in his whole life

As to 'swallowing these halfpence in fire-balls,' it is a story equally improbable. For, to execute this operation, the whole stock of Mr Wood's coin and metal must be melted down, and moulded into hollow balls with wild-fire,
15 no bigger than a reasonable throat may be able to swallow. Now, the metal he has prepared, and already coined, will amount to at least fifty millions of halfpence, to be swallowed by a million and a half of people: so that, allowing two halfpence to each ball, there will be about seventeen balls
20 of wild-fire a-piece to be swallowed by every person in the kingdom, and to administer this dose, there cannot be conveniently fewer than fifty thousand operators, allowing one operator to every thirty; which, considering the squeamishness of some stomachs, and the peevishness of
25 young children, is but reasonable. Now, under correction of better judgments, I think the trouble and charge of such an experiment would exceed the profit, and therefore I take this report to be spurious, or, at least, only a new scheme of Mr Wood himself, which, to make it pass the
30 better in Ireland, he would father upon a minister of state

But I will now demonstrate, beyond all contradiction, that Mr Walpole is against this project of Mr Wood, and is an entire friend to Ireland, only by this one invincible argument; that he has the universal opinion of being a wise

man, an able minister, and in all his proceedings pursuing the true interest of the King his master , and that as his integrity is above all corruption, so is his fortune above all temptation I reckon, therefore, we are perfectly safe from that corner, and shall never be under the necessity of con- 5
tending with so formidable a power, but be left to possess our brogues and potatoes in peace, as remote from thunder as we are from Jupiter

I am, my dear countrymen,

Your loving fellow-subject,

10

Fellow-sufferer, and humble servant,

M B

III

A SHORT VIEW

OF

THE STATE OF IRELAND, 1727

THE period when this Tract was written has a peculiar interest in Swift's biography. Since the Drapier's Letters were published in 1724, and Swift, as their author, had assumed a leading place as Irish patriot, he had visited England, had mingled once more with the wits of the opposition, and had published 'Gulliver'. But a feeling of sadness and gloom had mastered him, and in this year he returned for the last time to Ireland, where new griefs awaited him. A deadly illness had laid hold of Esther Johnson, and the long bond that had held together Swift and Stella was soon to be ended by the grave. He returned to his place in Ireland, to take his part in the active controversies that were called forth by her wrongs, to nurse his own gloom and sadness by the sight of the misery round him, and to feed his indignation by denouncing her oppressors. From the time of the Drapier's Letters onwards, pamphlets on the ills of Ireland continued to be issued at Dublin in quick succession, and a crowd of authors dilated upon the evils that crippled Irish agriculture and commerce, and proposed various specifics for their cure. The evils of absenteeism, the curse of the middleman, the want of a yeomanry, the cruelties of rackrenting, the plague of beggary, the internecine strife of religious sects—were fully treated, and means were proposed for dealing with each, by curbing the power of selfish landlords, by adjusting the trade laws, by deportation of the beggars, by concurrent endowment of the priests. Swift, in his various Tracts, often refers to the nostrums advocated, but he seldom deals with the proposals in detail. As in the Tract which follows, he preaches chiefly the wide and general duty of being independent, and of shaking off the palsy habits bred by oppression and English greed. The weapons he brings to the fight are not those of specific reform, but rather those of denunciation, sarcasm, and indignation.

A SHORT VIEW OF THE STATE OF IRELAND

I AM assured, that it has for some time been practised as a method of making men's court, when they are asked about the rate of lands, the abilities of the tenants, the state of trade and manufacture in this kingdom, and how their rents are paid , to answer, that in their neighbourhood all things 5 are in a flourishing condition, the rent and purchase of land every day increasing And if a gentleman happen to be a little more sincere in his representation, beside being looked on as not well-affected, he is sure to have a dozen contradictors at his elbow I think it is no manner of secret, 10 why these questions are so cordially asked, or so obligingly answered

But since, with regard to the affairs of this kingdom, I have been using all endeavours to subdue my indignation , to which indeed I am not provoked by any personal interest, 15 not being the owner of one spot of ground in the whole island , I shall only enumerate, by rules generally known, and never contradicted, what are the true causes of any country's flourishing and growing rich , and then examine what effects arise from those causes in the kingdom of 20 Ireland

The first cause of a kingdom's thriving is, the fruitfulness of the soil to produce the necessaries and conveniences of life ; not only sufficient for the inhabitants, but for exportation into other countries

The second is, the industry of the people, in working up all their native commodities to the last degree of manufacture

The third is, the conveniency of safe ports and havens, to carry out their own goods as much manufactured, and bring
5 in those of others as little manufactured, as the nature of mutual commerce will allow

The fourth is, that the natives should, as much as possible, export and import their goods in vessels of their own timber, made in their own country

10 The fifth is, the privilege of a free trade in all foreign countries which will permit them, except those who are in war with their own prince or state

The sixth is, by being governed only by laws made with their own consent, for otherwise they are not a free people
15 And therefore all appeals for justice, or applications for favour or preferment, to another country, are so many grievous impoverishments

The seventh is, by improvement of land, encouragement of agriculture, and thereby increasing the number of their
20 people, without which any country, however blessed by nature, must continue poor.

The eighth is, the residence of the prince, or chief administrator of the civil power

The ninth is, the concourse of foreigners, for education,
25 curiosity, or pleasure, or as to a general mart of trade

The tenth is, by disposing all offices of honour, profit, or trust, only to the natives, or at least with very few exceptions, where strangers have long inhabited the country, and are supposed to understand and regard the interests of
30 it as their own

The eleventh is, when the rents of land and profits of employment are spent in the country which produced them, and not in another, the former of which will certainly happen where the love of our native country prevails.

The twelfth is, by the public revenues being all spent and employed at home, except on the occasions of a foreign war

The thirteenth is, where the people are not obliged, unless they find it for their own interest or conveniency, to receive any moneys, except of their own coinage by a public mint, after the manner of all civilized nations

The fourteenth is, a disposition of the people of a country to wear their own manufactures, and import as few incitements to luxury, either in clothes, furniture, food, or drink, as they possibly can live conveniently without

There are many other causes of a nation's thriving, which I at present cannot recollect, but without advantage from at least some of these, after turning my thoughts a long time, I am not able to discover whence our wealth proceeds, and therefore would gladly be better informed. In the mean time, I will here examine what share falls to Ireland of these causes, or of the effects and consequences

It is not my intention to complain, but barely to relate facts, and the matter is not of small importance. For it is allowed, that a man who lives in a solitary house, far from help, is not wise in endeavouring to acquire in the neighbourhood the reputation of being rich, because those who come for gold, will go off with pewter and brass, rather than return empty. and in the common practice of the world, those who possess most wealth, make the least parade, which they leave to others, who have nothing else to bear them out in shewing their faces on the Exchange

As to the first cause of a nation's riches, being the fertility of the soil, as well as temperature of the climate, we have no reason to complain, for, although the quantity of unprofitable land in this kingdom, reckoning bog and rock and barren mountain, be double in proportion to what it is in

England, yet the native productions, which both kingdoms deal in, are very near on an equality in point of goodness, and might, with the same encouragement, be as well manufactured I except mines and minerals, in some of which, 5 however, we are only defective in point of skill and industry

In the second, which is the industry of the people, our misfortune is not altogether owing to our own fault, but to a million of discouragements

10 The conveniency of ports and havens, which nature has bestowed so liberally on this kingdom, is of no more use to us than a beautiful prospect to a man shut up in a dungeon

As to shipping of its own, Ireland is so utterly unprovided, 15 that of all the excellent timber cut down within these fifty or sixty years, it can hardly be said that the nation has received the benefit of one valuable house to dwell in, or one ship to trade with

Ireland is the only kingdom I ever heard or read of, 20 either in ancient or modern story, which was denied the liberty of exporting their native commodities and manufactures wherever they pleased, except to countries at war with their own prince or state yet this privilege, by the superiority of mere power, is refused us in the most 25 momentous parts of commerce, besides an act of navigation, to which we never consented, pinned down upon us, and rigorously executed, and a thousand other unexampled circumstances, as grievous as they are invidious to mention. To go on to the rest

30 It is too well known, that we are forced to obey some laws we never consented to, which is a condition I must not call by its true uncontroverted name, for fear of Lord Chief Justice Whiteshed's ghost, with his *Libertas et natale solum* written for a motto on his coach, as it stood at the

door of the court, while he was perjuring himself to betray both Thus we are in the condition of patients, who have physic sent them by doctors at a distance, strangers to their constitution and the nature of their disease, and thus we are forced to pay five hundred per cent to decide our properties in all which we have likewise the honour to be distinguished from the whole race of mankind

As to the improvement of land, those few who attempt that or planting, through covetousness, or want of skill, generally leave things worse than they were, neither succeeding in trees nor hedges, and, by running into the fancy of grazing, after the manner of the Scythians, are every day depopulating the country

We are so far from having a king to reside among us, that even the viceroy is generally absent four-fifths of his time in the government

No strangers from other countries make this a part of their travels, where they can expect to see nothing but scenes of misery and desolation

Those who have the misfortune to be born here, have the least title to any considerable employment, to which they are seldom preferred, but upon a political consideration

One-third part of the rents of Ireland is spent in England, which, with the profit of employments, pensions, appeals, journeys of pleasure or health, education at the inns of court and both universities, remittances at pleasure, the pay of all superior officers in the army, and other incidents, will amount to a full half of the income of the whole kingdom, all clear profit to England

We are denied the liberty of coining gold, silver, or even copper. In the Isle of Man they coin their own silver, every petty prince, vassal to the Emperor, can coin what money he pleases And in this, as in most of the articles

already mentioned, we are an exception to all other states or monarchies that were ever known in the world

As to the last, or fourteenth article, we take special care to act diametrically contrary to it in the whole course of
5 our lives. Both sexes, but especially the women, despise and abhor to wear any of their own manufactures, even those which are better made than in other countries, particularly a sort of silk plaid, through which the workmen are forced to run a kind of gold thread, that it may pass for
10 Indian. Even ale and potatoes are imported from England, as well as corn, and our foreign trade is little more than importation of French wine, for which I am told we pay ready money

Now, if all this be true, (upon which I could easily en-
15 large,) I should be glad to know, by what secret method it is that we grow a rich and flourishing people, without liberty, trade, manufactures, inhabitants, money, or the privilege of coining, without industry, labour, or improvement of land, and with more than half the rent and profits
20 of the whole kingdom annually exported, for which we receive not a single farthing and to make up all this, nothing worth mentioning, except the linen of the North, a trade, casual, corrupted, and at mercy, and some butter from Cork. If we do flourish, it must be against every law of
25 nature and reason, like the thorn at Glastonbury, that blossoms in the midst of winter

Let the worthy commissioners who come from England ride round the kingdom, and observe the face of nature, or the face of the natives, the improvement of the land, the
30 thriving numerous plantations, the noble woods, the abundance and vicinity of country seats, the commodious farms, houses, and barns, the towns and villages, where everybody is busy, and thriving with all kind of manufactures; the shops full of goods wrought to perfection, and

filled with customers ; the comfortable diet, and dress, and dwellings of the people , the vast number of ships in our harbours and docks, and ship-wrights in our sea-port towns , the roads crowded with carriers laden with rich manufactures , the perpetual concourse to and fro of pompous equipages

With what envy and admiration would those gentlemen return from so delightful a progress ! what glorious reports would they make, when they went back to England !

But my heart is too heavy to continue this irony longer , 10 for it is manifest, that whatever stranger took such a journey, would be apt to think himself travelling in Lapland or Ysland, rather than in a country so favoured by nature as ours, both in fruitfulness of soil and temperature of climate The miserable dress, and diet, and dwelling of the people , 15 the general desolation in most parts of the kingdom , the old seats of the nobility and gentry all in ruins, and no new ones in their stead , the families of farmers, who pay great rents, living in filth and nastiness upon butter-milk and potatoes, without a shoe or stocking to their feet, or a house 20 so convenient as an English hog-sty to receive them These indeed may be comfortable sights to an English spectator, who comes for a short time, only to learn the language, and returns back to his own country, whither he finds all his wealth transmitted 25

Nostra miseria magna est

There is not one argument used to prove the riches of Ireland, which is not a logical demonstration of its poverty. The rise of our rents is squeezed out of the very blood, and vitals, and clothes, and dwellings of the tenants, who live 30 worse than English beggars The lowness of interest, in all other countries a sign of wealth, is in us a proof of misery , there being no trade to employ any borrower Hence alone

comes the dearness of land, since the savers have no other way to lay out their money hence the dearness of necessities of life, because the tenants cannot afford to pay such extravagant rates for land, (which they must take, or go
5 a-begging,) without raising the price of cattle and of corn, although themselves should live upon chaff Hence our increase of building in this city, because workmen have nothing to do but to employ one another, and one half of them are infallibly undone Hence the daily increase of
10 bankers, who may be a necessary evil in a trading country, but so ruinous in ours, who, for their private advantage, have sent away all our silver, and one third of our gold, so that within three years past the running cash of the nation, which was about five hundred thousand pounds, is
15 now less than two, and must daily diminish, unless we have liberty to coin, as well as that important kingdom the Isle of Man, and the meanest principality in the German empire, as I before observed

I have sometimes thought, that this paradox of the kingdom's growing rich is chiefly owing to those worthy gentlemen the BANKERS, who, except some custom-house officers, birds of passage, oppressive thrifty squires, and a few others who shall be nameless, are the only thriving people among us and I have often wished that a law were enacted to hang
25 up half a dozen bankers every year, and thereby interpose at least some short delay to the farther ruin of Ireland

Ye are idle! ye are idle! answered Pharaoh to the Israelites, when they complained to his majesty that they were forced to make bricks without straw

30 England enjoys every one of those advantages for enriching a nation which I have above enumerated; and, into the bargain, a good million returned to them every year without labour or hazard, or one farthing value received on our side: but how long we shall be able to continue the pay-

ment, I am not under the least concern One thing I know, that, when the hen is starved to death, there will be no more golden eggs

I think it a little inhospitable, and others may call it a subtle piece of malice, that because there may be a dozen 5 families in this town able to entertain their English friends in a generous manner at their tables, their guests upon their return to England shall report that we wallow in riches and luxury

Yet I confess I have known an hospital, where all the 10 household officers grew rich , while the poor, for whose sake it was built, were almost starving for want of food and raiment

To conclude If Ireland be a rich and flourishing kingdom, its wealth and prosperity must be owing to certain 15 causes, that are yet concealed from the whole race of mankind , and the effects are equally invisible We need not wonder at strangers, when they deliver such paradoxes , but a native and inhabitant of this kingdom, who gives the same verdict, must be either ignorant to stupidity, or a 20 man-pleaser, at the expense of all honour, conscience, and truth

IV

A MODEST PROPOSAL

FOR

PREVENTING THE CHILDREN OF POOR PEOPLE IN IRELAND FROM
BEING A BURDEN TO THEIR PARENTS OR COUNTRY, AND
FOR MAKING THEM BENEFICIAL TO THE PUBLIC

1729

THE following Tract remains as the chief monument to the wrongs of Ireland during Swift's lifetime. We need not attempt, as Swift and others did, to assign the blame for these wrongs to any one party. The fates had fought against the country; the dregs of every controversy that had disturbed England had been thrown upon her, and besides all the mischances bred of her own history, she had suffered from the feuds that had spent themselves in England, and had dragged on the bitter remnants of their venom in Ireland. That the miseries which form the text of Swift's Tracts are not exaggerated by him may be proved from the bare statistics and facts that are repeated in the letters and pamphlets of the day. Swift's treatment of them has been censured as a heartless play of humour upon human misery. But so to read it, is indeed to mistake the whole meaning of Swift's sarcasm, when, as here, it is illumined by the white heat of indignation. Humour is what Swift is here thinking least about. He adopts, it is true, the phraseology, the outward style, the mannerisms of the humourist. But it is only in order to give intensity to the irony. It is difficult to believe that any one, reading this Tract without perverse bias, can fail to see how all feelings are mastered in its author, by the overpowering indignation at wrong, and sadness at the sight of hopeless misery. Swift's character did not, indeed, permit him to give free utterance to his compassion—perhaps even prevented compassion

being his chief impulse With him anger served the purpose better, and lent to his pen a force which compassion could not have given but none the less did it, in his own words, 'tear his heart' We read this Tract with admiration, indeed, for its consummate irony, but at the same time, recognising in it a deadly seriousness of purpose that pierces through every line of that irony

It is a melancholy object to those who walk through this great town, or travel in the country, when they see the streets, the roads, and cabin-doors, crowded with beggars of the female sex, followed by three, four, or six children, all in rags, and importuning every passenger for an alms 5 These mothers, instead of being able to work for their honest livelihood, are forced to employ all their time in strolling to beg sustenance for their helpless infants who, as they grow up, either turn thieves for want of work, or leave their dear native country to fight for the Pretender in 10 Spain, or sell themselves to the Barbadoes

I think it is agreed by all parties, that this prodigious number of children in the arms, or on the backs, or at the heels of their mothers, and frequently of their fathers, is, in the present deplorable state of the kingdom, a very great 15 additional grievance, and, therefore, whoever could find out a fair, cheap, and easy method of making these children sound, useful members of the commonwealth, would deserve so well of the public, as to have his statue set up for a preserver of the nation 20

But my intention is very far from being confined to provide only for the children of professed beggars, it is of a much greater extent, and shall take in the whole number of infants at a certain age, who are born of parents in effect as little able to support them, as those who demand our charity 25 in the streets

As to my own part, having turned my thoughts for many years upon this important subject, and maturely weighed

the several schemes of our projectors, I have always found them grossly mistaken in their computation. It is true, a child, just born, may be supported by its mother's milk for a solar year, with little other nourishment, at most, not
5 above the value of two shillings, which the mother may certainly get, or the value in scraps, by her lawful occupation of begging, and it is exactly at one year old that I propose to provide for them in such a manner, as, instead of being a charge upon their parents, or the parish, or want-
10 ing food and raiment for the rest of their lives, they shall, on the contrary, contribute to the feeding, and partly to the clothing, of many thousands

There is likewise another great advantage in my scheme, that it will prevent those voluntary abortions, and that
15 horrid practice of women murdering their bastard children, alas, too frequent among us! sacrificing the poor innocent babes, I doubt more to avoid the expense than the shame, which would move tears and pity in the most savage and inhuman breast

20 The number of souls in this kingdom being usually reckoned one million and a half, of these I calculate there may be about two hundred thousand couple whose wives are breeders, from which number I subtract thirty thousand couple, who are able to maintain their own children, (although
25 I apprehend there cannot be so many, under the present distresses of the kingdom,) but this being granted, there will remain a hundred and seventy thousand breeders. I again subtract fifty thousand, for those women who miscarry, or whose children die by accident or disease within the
30 year. There only remain a hundred and twenty thousand children of poor parents annually born. The question therefore is, How this number shall be reared and provided for? which, as I have already said, under the present situation of affairs, is utterly impossible by all the methods

hitherto proposed For we can neither employ them in handicraft or agriculture , we neither build houses (I mean in the country,) nor cultivate land they can very seldom pick up a livelihood by stealing, till they arrive at six years old, except where they are of towardly parts , although I 5 confess they learn the rudiments much earlier , during which time they can, however, be properly looked upon only as probationers , as I have been informed by a principal gentleman in the county of Cavan, who protested to me, that he never knew above one or two instances under 10 the age of six, even in a part of the kingdom so renowned for the quickest proficiency in that art

I am assured by our merchants, that a boy or a girl before twelve years old is no saleable commodity , and even when they come to this age they will not yield above three 15 pounds or three pounds and half-a-crown at most, on the exchange , which cannot turn to account either to the parents or kingdom, the charge of nutriment and rags having been at least four times that value

I shall now, therefore, humbly propose my own thoughts, 20 which I hope will not be liable to the least objection.

I have been assured by a very knowing American of my acquaintance in London, that a young healthy child, well nursed, is, at a year old, a most delicious, nourishing, and wholesome food, whether stewed, roasted, baked, or boiled , 25 and I make no doubt that it will equally serve in a fricassee or a ragout

I do therefore humbly offer it to public consideration, that of the hundred and twenty thousand children already computed, twenty thousand may be reserved for breed, 30 whereof only one-fourth part to be males , which is more than we allow to sheep, black-cattle, or swine , and my reason is, that these children are seldom the fruits of marriage, a circumstance not much regarded by our savages,

therefore one male will be sufficient for four females That the remaining hundred thousand may, at a year old, be offered in sale to the persons of quality and fortune through the kingdom, always advising the mother to let them suck
5 plentifully in the last month, so as to render them plump and fat for a good table A child will make two dishes at an entertainment for friends, and when the family dines alone, the fore or hind quarter will make a reasonable dish, and, seasoned with a little pepper or salt, will be very good
10 boiled on the fourth day, especially in winter

I have reckoned, upon a medium, that a child just born will weigh twelve pounds, and in a solar year, if tolerably nursed, will increase to twenty-eight pounds

I grant this food will be somewhat dear, and therefore
15 very proper for landlords, who, as they have already devoured most of the parents, seem to have the best title to the children

Infants' flesh will be in season throughout the year, but more plentifully in March, and a little before and after for
20 we are told by a grave author, an eminent French physician, that fish being a prolific diet, there are more children born in Roman Catholic countries about nine months after Lent, than at any other season, therefore, reckoning a year after Lent, the markets will be more glutted than usual, because
25 the number of Popish infants is at least three to one in this kingdom, and therefore it will have one other collateral advantage, by lessening the number of Papists among us

I have already computed the charge of nursing a beggar's child (in which list I reckon all cottagers, labourers, and
30 four-fifths of the farmers) to be about two shillings per annum, rags included; and I believe no gentleman would repine to give ten shillings for the carcass of a good fat child, which, as I have said, will make four dishes of excellent nutritive meat, when he has only some particular

friend, or his own family, to dine with him Thus the squire will learn to be a good landlord, and grow popular among his tenants, the mother will have eight shillings net profit, and be fit for work till she produces another child

5

Those who are more thrifty (as I must confess the times require) may flay the carcass, the skin of which, artificially dressed, will make admirable gloves for ladies, and summer-boots for fine gentlemen

As to our city of Dublin, shambles may be appointed for 10 this purpose in the most convenient parts of it, and butchers we may be assured will not be wanting, although I rather recommend buying the children alive, then dressing them hot from the knife, as we do roasting pigs

A very worthy person, a true lover of his country, and 15 whose virtues I highly esteem, was lately pleased, in discoursing on this matter, to offer a refinement upon my scheme He said, that many gentlemen of this kingdom, having of late destroyed their deer, he conceived that the want of venison might be well supplied by the bodies of 20 young lads and maidens, not exceeding fourteen years of age, nor under twelve, so great a number of both sexes in every country being now ready to starve for want of work and service, and these to be disposed of by their parents, if alive, or otherwise by their nearest relations But, with 25 due deference to so excellent a friend, and so deserving a patriot, I cannot be altogether in his sentiments, for as to the males, my American acquaintance assured me, from frequent experience, that their flesh was generally tough and lean, like that of our schoolboys, by continual exercise, and 30 their taste disagreeable, and to fatten them would not answer the charge Then as to the females, it would, I think, with humble submission, be a loss to the public, because they soon would become breeders themselves. and

besides, it is not improbable that some scrupulous people might be apt to censure such a practice, (although indeed very unjustly,) as a little bordering upon cruelty, which, I confess, has always been with me the strongest objection
5 against any project, how well soever intended

But in order to justify my friend, he confessed that this expedient was put into his head by the famous Psalmanazar, a native of the island Formosa, who came from thence to London above twenty years ago, and in conversation told
10 my friend, that in his country, when any young person happened to be put to death, the executioner sold the carcass to persons of quality as a prime dainty, and that in his time the body of a plump girl of fifteen, who was crucified for an attempt to poison the emperor, was sold to
15 his imperial majesty's prime minister of state, and other great mandarins of the court, in joints from the gibbet, at four hundred crowns Neither indeed can I deny, that if the same use were made of several plump young girls in this town, who, without one single groat to their fortunes,
20 cannot stir abroad without a chair, and appear at playhouse and assemblies in foreign fineries which they never will pay for, the kingdom would not be the worse

Some persons of a desponding spirit are in great concern about that vast number of poor people, who are aged,
25 diseased, or maimed, and I have been desired to employ my thoughts, what course may be taken to ease the nation of so grievous an encumbrance But I am not in the least pain upon that matter, because it is very well known, that they are every day dying, and rotting, by cold and famine, and
30 filth and vermin, as fast as can be reasonably expected And as to the young labourers, they are now in almost as hopeful a condition they cannot get work, and consequently pine away for want of nourishment, to a degree, that if at any time they are accidentally hired to common

labour, they have not strength to perform it, and thus the country and themselves are happily delivered from the evils to come

I have too long digressed, and therefore shall return to my subject I think the advantages by the proposal which 5 I have made, are obvious and many, as well as of the highest importance

For first, as I have already observed, it would greatly lessen the number of Papists, with whom we are yearly over-run, being the principal breeders of the nation, as well 10 as our most dangerous enemies, and who stay at home on purpose to deliver the kingdom to the Pretender, hoping to take their advantage by the absence of so many good Protestants, who have chosen rather to leave their country, than stay at home and pay tithes against their conscience to 15 an Episcopal curate

Secondly, The poorer tenants will have something valuable of their own, which by law may be made liable to distress, and help to pay their landlord's rent, their corn and cattle being already seized, and money a thing un- 20 known

Thirdly, Whereas the maintenance of a hundred thousand children, from two years old and upward, cannot be computed at less than ten shillings a piece per annum, the nation's stock will be thereby increased fifty thousand 25 pounds per annum, beside the profit of a new dish introduced to the tables of all gentlemen of fortune in the kingdom, who have any refinement in taste And the money will circulate among ourselves, the goods being entirely of our own growth and manufacture 30

Fourthly, The constant breeders, beside the gain of eight shillings sterling per annum by the sale of their children, will be rid of the charge of maintaining them after the first year

Fifthly, This food would likewise bring great custom to taverns , where the vintners will certainly be so prudent as to procure the best receipts for dressing it to perfection, and, consequently, have their houses frequented by all the
5 fine gentlemen, who justly value themselves upon their knowledge in good eating and a skilful cook, who understands how to oblige his guests, will contrive to make it as expensive as they please

Sixthly, This would be a great inducement to marriage,
10 which all wise nations have either encouraged by rewards, or enforced by laws and penalties It would increase the care and tenderness of mothers toward their children, when they were sure of a settlement for life to the poor babes, provided in some sort by the public, to their annual profit
15 or expense. We should see an honest emulation among the married women, which of them could bring the fattest child to the market Men would become as fond of their wives during the time of their pregnancy, as they are now of their mares in foal, their cows in calf, their sows when they are
20 ready to farrow , nor offer to beat or kick them (as is too frequent a practice) for fear of a miscarriage

Many other advantages might be enumerated For instance, the addition of some thousand carcasses in our exportation of barrelled beef, the propagation of swine's
25 flesh, and improvement in the art of making good bacon, so much wanted among us by the great destruction of pigs, too frequent at our table , which are no way comparable in taste or magnificence to a well-grown, fat, yearling child, which, roasted whole, will make a considerable figure at a lord
30 mayor's feast, or any other public entertainment But this, and many others, I omit, being studious of brevity

Supposing that one thousand families in this city would be constant customers for infants' flesh, beside others who might have it at merry-meetings, particularly at weddings and

christenings, I compute that Dublin would take off annually about twenty thousand carcasses, and the rest of the kingdom (where probably they will be sold somewhat cheaper) the remaining eighty thousand

I can think of no one objection, that will possibly be raised against this proposal, unless it should be urged, that the number of people will be thereby much lessened in the kingdom. This I freely own, and it was indeed one principal design in offering it to the world. I desire the reader will observe, that I calculate my remedy for this one individual kingdom of Ireland, and for no other that ever was, is, or I think ever can be, upon earth. Therefore let no man talk to me of other expedients of taxing our absentees at five shillings a pound of using neither clothes, nor household-furniture, except what is our own growth and manufacture of utterly rejecting the materials and instruments that promote foreign luxury of curing the expensiveness of pride, vanity, idleness, and gaming in our women, of introducing a vein of parsimony, prudence, and temperance of learning to love our country, in the want of which we differ even from LAPLANDERS, and the inhabitants of TOPINAMBOO of quitting our animosities and factions, nor acting any longer like the Jews, who were murdering one another at the very moment their city was taken of being a little cautious not to sell our country and conscience for nothing of teaching landlords to have at least one degree of mercy toward their tenants lastly, of putting a spirit of honesty, industry, and skill into our shopkeepers, who, if a resolution could now be taken to buy only our native goods, would immediately unite to cheat and exact upon us in the price, the measure, and the goodness, nor could ever yet be brought to make one fair proposal of just dealing, though often and earnestly invited to it

Therefore I repeat, let no man talk to me of these and

the like expedients, till he has at least some glimpse of hope, that there will be ever some hearty and sincere attempt to put them in practice

But, as to myself, having been wearied out for many 5 years with offering vain, idle, visionary thoughts, and at length utterly despairing of success, I fortunately fell upon this proposal, which, as it is wholly new, so it has something solid and real, of no expense and little trouble, full in our own power, and whereby we can incur no danger in 10 disobliging ENGLAND For this kind of commodity will not bear exportation, the flesh being of too tender a consistence to admit a long continuance in salt, although perhaps I could name a country, which would be glad to eat up our whole nation without it

15 After all, I am not so violently bent upon my own opinion as to reject any offer proposed by wise men, which shall be found equally innocent, cheap, easy, and effectual But before something of that kind shall be advanced in contradiction to my scheme, and offering a better, I desire 20 the author, or authors, will be pleased maturely to consider two points First, as things now stand, how they will be able to find food and raiment for a hundred thousand useless mouths and backs And, secondly, there being a round million of creatures in human figure throughout this 25 kingdom, whose whole subsistence put into a common stock would leave them in debt two millions of pounds sterling, adding those who are beggars by profession, to the bulk of farmers, cottagers, and labourers, with the wives and children who are beggars in effect, I desire those politicians who 30 dislike my overture, and may perhaps be so bold as to attempt an answer, that they will first ask the parents of these mortals, whether they would not at this day think it a great happiness to have been sold for food at a year old, in the manner I prescribe, and thereby have avoided such a

perpetual scene of misfortunes, as they have since gone through, by the oppression of landlords, the impossibility of paying rent without money or trade, the want of common sustenance, with neither house nor clothes to cover them from the inclemencies of the weather, and the most inevitable prospect of entailing the like, or greater miseries, upon their breed for ever

I profess, in the sincerity of my heart, that I have not the least personal interest in endeavouring to promote this necessary work, having no other motive than the public good of my country, by advancing our trade, providing for infants, relieving the poor, and giving some pleasure to the rich I have no children by which I can propose to get a single penny, the youngest being nine years old, and my wife past child-bearing

GULLIVER'S TRAVELS

THIS is held by some to be the work in which Swift's genius appears in its richest vein. The book has proved attractive, solely for the bright vividness of its story, to every generation of children since it was written, but it is at the same time weighted with a misanthropy that is tragic in its bitterness, and it represents that phase of the author's character at which it became, under the combined influence of sad surroundings and failing health, most unrelieved in its gloom, and most perverse in its hatred of his kind.

Much has been written as to the genesis of the work. It is certain that it arose out of a scheme that had occupied, long but fitfully, the minds of Swift, Arbuthnot, Pope, and Gay. According to their plan a series of satirical sketches of different types of affected folly were to be strung together under the name of a whimsical pedant, called Martinus Scriblerus. The occasional playful efforts of the Scriblerus Club, as it was called, were continued, probably, by correspondence, during Swift's Irish banishment, and they seem to have given rise,—by what process it is difficult to say,—to the idea of *Gulliver's Travels*. Swift declared himself unfitted to work out the Scriblerus scheme, and maintained that Arbuthnot, alone of the company, had the learning equal to it, and if *Gulliver* really represents Swift's contribution to the scheme, he certainly forsook completely the original design.

The forthcoming *Travels* had, for long, been freely discussed amongst the members of this literary coterie: the names of the characters became passwords between the friends, and startled though they were by the brilliancy of the complete work when Swift brought it over to England in 1726, its general design seems to have been pretty accurately known beforehand. It appeared in November of that year, and the publication was attended by the mystery with which Swift sought at all times to surround his work. The manuscript was conveyed to the printer by a secret channel.

No ingenuity of comparison has been left unexercised, and no labourousness of research has been spared, in order to trace the source from which Swift borrowed the ideas of the book, and to estimate the amount of his indebtedness to pioneers in the same field of literature. It may be doubted whether a good deal of this is not labour thrown away. Stories of fabulous voyages, and the super-

structures of fiction built upon the simple plan of transporting the reader into some imaginative region, owe their origin to a very obvious idea, and are legion in number. Swift may well have borrowed suggestions and even episodes from many whom we can, and some whom we cannot, hope to trace. But when we have laboriously traced certain resemblances, we run the risk of weakening the impression of his genius, without obtaining any greater insight into his purposes. The most obvious model is Lucian's *True History*, and this, which Swift can hardly have failed to read, either in the original or in a Latin translation, presents some of the closest parallels, not only in general scheme, but in special features. Lucian has the same mock verisimilitude in narrating the most astounding marvels, the same direct simplicity of style, and one is forced to admit that his boldness of invention and richness of imagination transcend those of Swift. But when we have admitted this, it remains none the less true that what is most characteristic in *Gulliver's Travels* is absolutely without resemblance to anything in Lucian. The *True History* was written in order to turn to ridicule the absurdities of Lucian's contemporaries in history. It was a sort of practical application of his literary treatise on the 'Method of Writing History', its ruling motive is that of a literary satire and no more.

Other models are adduced, of which we may say much the same. Nearly a hundred years before, Cyrano de Bergerac had written his *Voyages to the Sun and Moon*, which had been more than once translated into English—the last time by one 'A. Lovell,' in 1687. This, also, Swift must certainly have read, and caught from it suggestions which are doubtless interesting to the laborious investigator, but were probably, so far as Swift is concerned, little more than accidental. Like Gulliver, Bergerac's hero is exhibited in the Moon for gain. The solemn recantation in which he is made to abjure his errors, and swear that the Earth from which he came is not an Earth, but a Moon, and that the Moon, where he now is, is not a Moon but an Earth, is almost Swiftian in manner. The similarity which the inhabitants trace between him and the Apes, reminds us of Gulliver's humiliation when he is found to be shaped like a Yahoo. Just as the Houyhnhnms find in the upright position of man a sign of weakness and indignity, so the inhabitants of Bergerac's new world go on all-fours, and see in man nothing but 'un perroquet sans plumes'. Bergerac makes the young rule the old, and, like Swift, denies that children are bound to be grateful to their parents for their birth. The scientific discussions in Brobdingnag concerning the nature of Gulliver may owe something to a sentence like the following, which is also Swiftian in manner, 'Ce conseil fut contraint de publier un arrêt, par lequel on défendait

de croire que j'eusse de la raison, avec un commandement très-express a toutes personnes de s'imaginer, quoique je pusse faire de spirituel, que c'était l'instinct qui me le faisait faire' Bergerac's conceit as to the reception of food by smell, and as to the use of poems as the usual current coin, may find a parallel in *Laputa*. But all these are points rather curious than important. Bergerac wrote in the interest of certain religious and philosophical views—less apparent in the *Voyage to the Moon*, but more clear in the sequel, a *Voyage to the Sun*, which closes with the advent of Descartes to clear up all doubt and difficulties. But of Swift's grimness of humour, of his elaborate circumstantiality, of his aim 'not to amuse, but to vex mankind,' there is not, in Bergerac, a single trace. The inquiry ends as such inquiries are often fated to do—in detecting a few resemblances of pattern, but no identity in the stuff of which the fabric is woven. A still less apposite parallel has been suggested in the *Germania* of a certain Joshua Barnes, of Emanuel College, Cambridge, published in 1675. It tells of a race of people called the Pygmies, and whimsically traces a foretaste of Christianity in the habits of the race discovered as long ago as Homer's day.

But a parallel which might have more literary importance, is that which it is sought to establish between Swift and Rabelais. Since Pope, by what was little more than a poetic licence, grouped Swift with Cervantes and Rabelais, it has been a conventional commonplace to couple Pantagruel with Gulliver. A more ill-judged comparison could scarcely be conceived. Rabelais is, indeed, poles asunder from Swift. The exuberance of the Frenchman's imagination breaks all bounds in the wild extravagance of its flood, and leaves no place for that measured deadliness of sarcastic aim that is Swift's chief characteristic. No one ever, during the reading of a single line, conceived that Pantagruel and Gargantua existed, or let his fancy trace one stage in Rabelais' voyages. But, reading Gulliver, we cannot choose but feel that every detail, small as well as big, is absolutely real. In the extravagant whims of *Laputa*, indeed, Swift approaches Rabelais, but it is just in *Laputa* that Swift is least like himself.

The main question of interest for us, is, what is the leading aim of Gulliver? Swift occasionally, for a few pages, seems to mock the style of the travellers' tales of his day. But this engages him only for a space. He has, again, spent some pains in constructing his tales, and giving to them graphic and circumstantial force. His success in this is consummate, but he uses the power, 'like wealthy men who care not how they give.' Construction has no abiding charm for him, and it is no part of his central aim. At other times he seems to advocate some political reform, or to satirize some

definite social abuse, and occasionally he has a fling at the physicists. But the central feature of the book is its bitter contempt for mankind, belittling their vaunted prowess, ridiculing their over-weening speculations, befouling all that seems good by degrading comparisons, and deepening at the close into a disgust and gloom that are oppressive. It might seem that no contempt could be more scathing than that of Lilliput and Brobdingnag, where the opposite methods of comparison are pursued, to carry the same lesson of the insignificance of humanity, but the shadows grow far deeper as we proceed. No picture of misery in all literature is more unrelieved than that of the Strulbrugs, no disgust more overwhelming than that aroused by the Yahoos. Gloom and illness had increased Swift's ingrained bitterness. Uncongenial surroundings, a spirit envenomed by keen struggle, the impending loss of his own life-long companionship (for Stella was now wasting away), the shadow of a clouded intellect—all these seem to find utterance in the closing books of *Gulliver*.

TRAVELS INTO SEVERAL REMOTE NATIONS OF THE WORLD

PART I

A VOYAGE TO LILLIPUT

CHAPTER I

The Author gives some Account of Himself and Family. His first Inducements to Travel. He is Shipwrecked, and swims for his Life. Gets safe on shore in the Country of Lilliput. Is made a Prisoner, and carried up the Country.

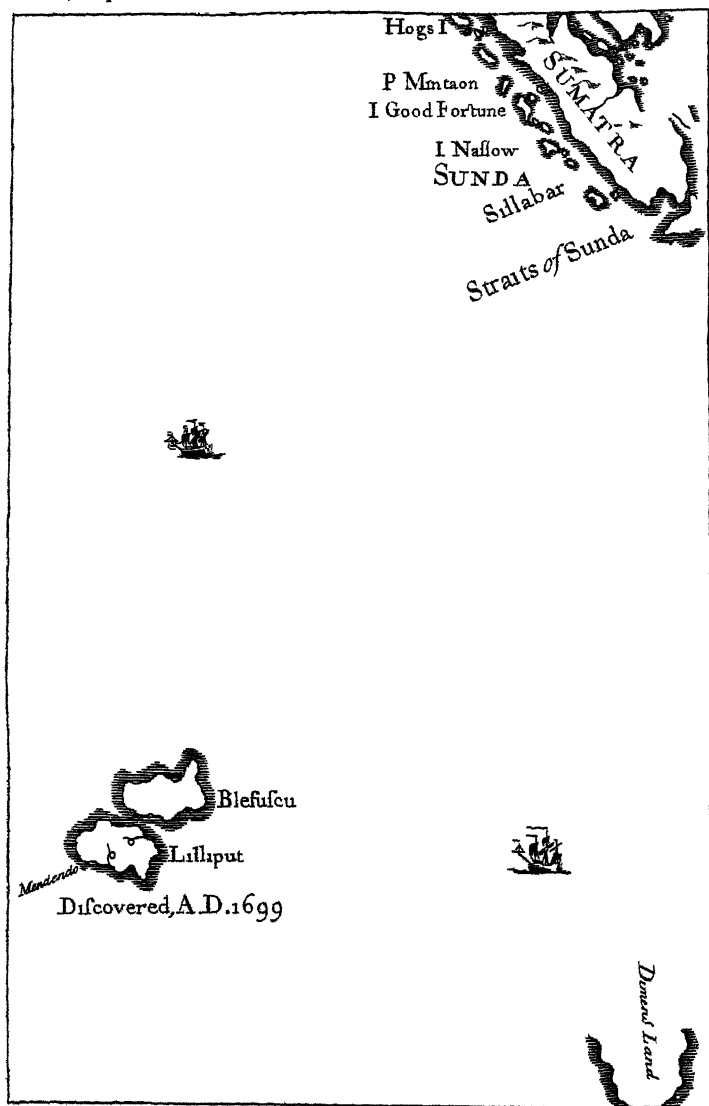
My father had a small estate in Nottinghamshire. I was the third of five sons. He sent me to Emanuel College in Cambridge, at fourteen years old, where I resided three years, and applied myself close to my studies, but the charge of maintaining me, although I had a very scanty allowance, being too great for a narrow fortune, I was bound apprentice to Mr. James Bates, an eminent surgeon in London, with whom I continued four years. My father now and then sending me small sums of money, I laid them out in learn-

ing navigation, and other parts of the mathematics, useful to those who intend to travel, as I always believed it would be, some time or other, my fortune to do When I left Mr Bates, I went down to my father, where, by the assistance of
5 him and my uncle John, and some other relations, I got forty pounds, and a promise of thirty pounds a-year, to maintain me at Leyden There I studied physick two years and seven months, knowing it would be useful in long voyages

Soon after my return from Leyden, I was recommended
10 by my good master, Mr Bates, to be surgeon to the Swallow, Captain Abraham Pannel, commander, with whom I continued three years and a half, making a voyage or two into the Levant, and some other parts When I came back, I resolved to settle in London, to which Mr Bates my
15 master encouraged me, and by him I was recommended to several patients I took part of a small house in the Old Jewry, and, being advised to alter my condition, I married Mrs Mary Burton, second daughter to Mr Edmund Burton, hosier, in Newgate Street, with whom I received four
20 hundred pounds for a portion

But my good master Bates dying in two years after, and I having few friends, my business began to fail, for my conscience would not suffer me to imitate the bad practice of too many among my brethren Having therefore consulted
25 with my wife and some of my acquaintance, I determined to go again to sea I was surgeon successively in two ships, and made several voyages, for six years, to the East and West Indies, by which I got some addition to my fortune. My hours of leisure I spent in reading the best authors,
30 ancient and modern, being always provided with a good number of books, and when I was ashore, in observing the manners and dispositions of the people, as well as learning their language, wherein I had a great facility, by the strength of my memory

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The last of these voyages not proving very fortunate, I grew weary of the sea, and intended to stay at home with my wife and family. I removed from the Old Jewry to Fetter-lane, and from thence to Wapping, hoping to get business among the sailors, but it would not turn to account. After three years' expectation that things would mend, I accepted an advantageous offer from Captain William Pritchard, master of the *Antelope*, who was making a voyage to the South Sea. We set sail from Bristol, May 4, 1699, and our voyage at first was very prosperous. 10

It would not be proper, for some reasons, to trouble the reader with the particulars of our adventures in those seas; let it suffice to inform him, that, in our passage from thence to the East Indies, we were driven by a violent storm to the north-west of Van Diemen's Land. By an observation, we 15 found ourselves in the latitude of 30 degrees 2 minutes south. Twelve of our crew were dead by immoderate labour and ill food, the rest were in a very weak condition. On the 5th of November, which was the beginning of summer in those parts, the weather being very hazy, the seamen 20 spied a rock within half a cable's length of the ship, but the wind was so strong, that we were driven directly upon it, and immediately split. Six of the crew, of whom I was one, having let down the boat into the sea, made a shift to get clear of the ship and the rock. We rowed, by my computation, about three leagues, till we were able to work no longer, being already spent with labour while we were in the ship. We therefore trusted ourselves to the mercy of the waves, and in about half an hour the boat was upset by a sudden flurry from the north. What became of my com- 25 panions in the boat, as well as of those who escaped on the rock, or were left in the vessel, I cannot tell, but conclude they were all lost. For my own part, I swam as Fortune directed me, and was pushed forward by wind and tide. I

often let my legs drop, and could feel no bottom, but when I was almost gone, and able to struggle no longer, I found myself within my depth, and by this time the storm was much abated. The declivity was so small, that I walked
5 near a mile before I got to the shore, which I conjectured was about eight o'clock in the evening. I then advanced forward near half a mile, but could not discover any sign of houses or inhabitants, at least I was in so weak a condition that I did not observe them. I was extremely tired, and
10 with that, and the heat of the weather, and about half a pint of brandy that I drank as I left the ship, I found myself much inclined to sleep. I lay down on the grass, which was very short and soft, where I slept sounder than ever I remember to have done in my life, and, as I reckoned,
15 above nine hours, for when I awaked, it was just daylight. I attempted to rise, but was not able to stir, for, as I happened to lie on my back, I found my arms and legs were strongly fastened on each side to the ground, and my hair which was long and thick, tied down in the same manner.
20 I likewise felt several slender ligatures across my body, from my arm-pits to my thighs. I could only look upwards, the sun began to grow hot, and the light offended mine eyes. I heard a confused noise about me, but, in the posture I lay, could see nothing except the sky. In a little time I felt
25 something alive moving on my left leg, which, advancing gently forward over my breast, came almost up to my chin, when, bending my eyes downwards as much as I could, I perceived it to be a human creature not six inches high, with a bow and arrow in his hands, and a quiver at his
30 back. In the meantime, I felt at least forty more of the same kind (as I conjectured) following the first. I was in the utmost astonishment, and roared so loud, that they all ran back in a fright, and some of them, as I was afterwards told, were hurt with the falls they got by leaping from my

sides upon the ground. However, they soon returned, and one of them, who ventured so far as to get a full sight of my face, lifting up his hands and eyes by way of admiration, cried out, in a shrill but distinct voice, *Hekinah degul*, the others repeated the same words several times, but I then 5 knew not what they meant. I lay all this while, as the reader may believe, in great uneasiness. At length, struggling to get loose, I had the fortune to break the strings, and wrench out the pegs that fastened my left arm to the ground, for, by lifting it up to my face, I discovered the methods they 10 had taken to bind me, and, at the same time, with a violent pull, which gave me excessive pain, I a little loosened the strings that tied down my hair on the left side, so that I was just able to turn my head about two inches. But the creatures ran off a second time before I could seize them, 15 whereupon there was a great shout, in a very shrill accent, and, after it ceased, I heard one of them cry aloud, *Tolgo phonac*, when, in an instant, I felt above an hundred arrows discharged on my left hand, which pricked me like so many needles, and, besides, they shot another flight into the air, 20 as we do bombs in Europe, whereof many, I suppose, fell on my body, (though I felt them not,) and some on my face, which I immediately covered with my left hand. When this shower of arrows was over, I fell a-groaning with grief and pain, and then, striving again to get loose, they discharged 25 another volley, larger than the first, and some of them attempted, with spears, to stick me in the sides, but, by good luck, I had on me a buff jerkin, which they could not pierce. I thought it the most prudent method to lie still, and my design was to continue so till night, when, my left hand 30 being already loose, I could easily free myself, and as for the inhabitants, I had reason to believe I might be a match for the greatest army they could bring against me, if they were all of the same size with him that I saw. But fortune

disposed otherwise of me. When the people observed I was quiet, they discharged no more arrows, but by the noise I heard, I knew their numbers increased, and about four yards from me, over against my right ear, I heard a
5 knocking for above an hour, like that of people at work, when, turning my head that way, as well as the pegs and strings would permit me, I saw a stage erected about a foot and a half from the ground, capable of holding four of the inhabitants, with two or three ladders to mount it from
10 whence one of them who seemed to be a person of quality, made me a long speech, whereof I understood not one syllable. But I should have mentioned, that, before the principal person began his oration, he cried out three times, *Langro dehul san* (these words and the former were after-
15 wards repeated and explained to me), whereupon, immediately, about fifty of the inhabitants came and cut the strings that fastened the left side of my head, which gave me the liberty of turning it to the right, and of observing the person and gesture of him that was to speak. He appeared
20 to be of a middle age, and taller than any of the other three who attended him, whereof one was a page, that held up his train, and seemed to be somewhat longer than my middle finger, the other two stood one on each side to support him. He acted every part of an orator, and
25 I could observe many periods of threatenings, and others of promises, pity, and kindness. I answered in a few words, but in the most submissive manner, lifting up my left hand and both mine eyes to the sun, as calling him for a witness, and being almost famished with hunger, having not eaten a
30 morsel for some hours before I left the ship, I found the demands of nature so strong upon me, that I could not forbear shewing my impatience (perhaps against the strict rules of decency), by putting my finger frequently on my mouth, to signify that I wanted food. The *hurgo* (for so they call

a great lord, as I afterwards learnt) understood me very well. He descended from the stage, and commanded that several ladders should be applied to my sides, on which above an hundred of the inhabitants mounted, and walked towards my mouth, laden with baskets full of meat, which 5 had been provided and sent thither by the king's orders, upon the first intelligence he received of me. I observed there was the flesh of several animals, but could not distinguish them by the taste. There were shoulders, legs, and loins, shaped like those of mutton, and very well dressed, 10 but smaller than the wings of a lark. I eat them by two or three at a mouthful, and took three loaves at a time, about the bigness of musket-bullets. They supplied me as they could, shewing a thousand marks of wonder and astonishment at my bulk and appetite. I then made another 15 sign, that I wanted drink. They found by my eating that a small quantity would not suffice me, and, being a most ingenious people, they slung up, with great dexterity, one of their largest hogsheads, then rolled it towards my hand, and beat out the top. I drank it off at a draught, which I might 20 well do, for it did not hold half a pint, and tasted like a small wine of Burgundy, but much more delicious. They brought me a second hogshead, which I drank in the same manner, and made signs for more, but they had none to give me. When I had performed these wonders, they 25 shouted for joy, and danced upon my breast, repeating several times, as they did at first, *Hekinah degul*. They made me a sign that I should throw down the two hogsheads, but first warning the people below to stand out of the way, crying aloud, *Borach mivolah*, and when they saw 30 the vessels in the air, there was an universal shout of, *Hekinah degul*. I confess I was often tempted, while they were passing backwards and forwards on my body, to seize forty or fifty of the first that came in my reach, and dash them

against the ground But the remembrance of what I had felt, which probably might not be the worst they could do, and the promise of honour I made them,—for so I interpreted my submissive behaviour,—soon drove out these
5 imaginations Besides, I now considered myself as bound by the laws of hospitality to a people who had treated me with so much expense and magnificence However, in my thoughts I could not sufficiently wonder at the intrepidity of these diminutive mortals, who durst venture to mount
10 and walk upon my body, while one of my hands was at liberty, without trembling at the very sight of so prodigious a creature as I must appear to them After some time, when they observed that I made no more demands for meat, there appeared before me a person of high rank from
15 his imperial majesty His excellency, having mounted on the small of my right leg, advanced forwards up to my face, with about a dozen of his retinue, and producing his credentials, under the signet-royal, which he applied close to mine eyes, spoke about ten minutes without any signs of
20 anger, but with a kind of determinate resolution, often pointing forwards, which, as I afterwards found, was towards the capital city, about half a mile distant, whither it was agreed by his majesty in council that I must be conveyed I answered in few words, but to no purpose, and made a sign
25 with my hand that was loose, putting it to the other, (but over his excellency's head, for fear of hurting him or his train,) and then to my own head and body, to signify that I desired my liberty It appeared that he understood me well enough, for he shook his head by way of disapprobation, and held his hand in a posture to shew that I must be
30 carried as a prisoner However, he made other signs, to let me understand that I should have meat and drink enough, and very good treatment. Whereupon, I once more thought of attempting to break my bonds, but again, when I felt

the smart of their arrows upon my face and hands, which were all in blisters, and many of the darts still sticking in them, and observing likewise that the number of my enemies increased, I gave tokens to let them know that they might do with me what they pleased. Upon this, the *hurgo* and 5 his train withdrew, with much civility, and cheerful countenances * * *

It seems, that upon the first moment I was discovered sleeping on the ground, after my landing, the emperor had early notice of it by an express, and determined, in council, 10 that I should be tied in the manner I have related, (which was done in the night, while I slept,) that plenty of meat and drink should be sent me, and a machine prepared to carry me to the capital city

This resolution, perhaps, may appear very bold and dan- 15 gerous, and I am confident would not be imitated by any prince in Europe on the like occasion. However, in my opinion, it was extremely prudent, as well as generous, for, supposing these people had endeavoured to kill me with their spears and arrows while I was asleep, I should cer- 20 tainly have awaked with the first sense of smart, which might so far have roused my rage and strength, as to have enabled me to break the strings wherewith I was tied, after which, as they were not able to make resistance, so they could expect no mercy * * * 25

Five hundred carpenters and engineers were immediately set at work to prepare the greatest engine they had. It was a frame of wood raised three inches from the ground, about seven foot long, and four wide, moving upon twenty-two wheels. The shout I heard was upon the arrival of 30 this engine, which, it seems, set out in four hours after my landing. It was brought parallel to me as I lay. But the principal difficulty was to raise and place me in this vehicle. Eighty poles, each of one foot high, were erected for this pur-

pose, and very strong cords, of the bigness of pack-thread, were fastened by hooks to many bandages, which the workmen had girt round my neck, my hands, my body, and my legs. Nine hundred of the strongest men were employed
5 to draw up these cords, by many pulleys fastened on the poles, and thus, in less than three hours I was raised and slung into the engine, and there tied fast. All this I was told, for, while the whole operation was performing, I lay in a profound sleep, by the force of that soporiferous medicine
10 infused into my liquor. Fifteen hundred of the emperor's largest horses, each about four inches and a half high, were employed to draw me towards the metropolis, which, as I said, was half a mile distant.

About four hours after we began our journey, I awaked
15 by a very ridiculous accident, for the carriage being stopped awhile, to adjust something that was out of order, two or three of the young natives had the curiosity to see how I looked when I was asleep, they climbed up into the engine, and advancing very softly to my face, one of them, an
20 officer in the guards, put the sharp end of his half-pike a good way up into my left nostril, which tickled my nose like a straw, and made me sneeze violently, whereupon they stole off unperceived, and it was three weeks before I knew the cause of my awaking so suddenly. We made a
25 long march the remaining part of that day, and rested at night with five hundred guards on each side of me, half with torches, and half with bows and arrows, ready to shoot me if I should offer to stir. The next morning at sunrise we continued our march, and arrived within two hundred
30 yards of the city-gates about noon. The emperor, and all his court, came out to meet us, but his great officers would by no means suffer his majesty to endanger his person, by mounting on my body.

At the place where the carriage stopped there stood an

ancient temple, esteemed to be the largest in the whole kingdom, which, having been polluted some years before by an unnatural murder, was, according to the zeal of those people, looked on as profane, and therefore had been applied to common uses, and all the ornaments and furniture 5 carried away. In this edifice it was determined I should lodge. The great gate fronting to the north, was about four foot high, and almost two foot wide, through which I could easily creep. On each side of the gate was a small window, not above six inches from the ground. Into that on the left 10 side, the king's smith conveyed fourscore and eleven chains, like those that hang to a lady's watch in Europe, and almost as large, which were locked to my left leg with six-and-thirty padlocks. Over against this temple, on t' other side of the great highway, at twenty foot distance, there was a 15 turret at least five foot high. Here the emperor ascended, with many principal lords of his court, to have an opportunity of viewing me, as I was told, for I could not see them. It was reckoned that above an hundred thousand inhabitants came out of the town upon the same errand, and, 20 in spite of my guards, I believe there could not be fewer than ten thousand at several times, who mounted upon my body by the help of ladders. But a proclamation was soon issued, to forbid it upon pain of death. When the workmen found it was impossible for me to break loose, they cut all 25 the strings that bound me, whereupon I rose up, with as melancholy a disposition as ever I had in my life. But the noise and astonishment of the people, at seeing me rise and walk, are not to be expressed. The chains that held my left leg were about two yards long, and gave me not only the 30 liberty of walking backwards and forwards in a semicircle, but being fixed within four inches of the gate, allowed me to creep in, and lie at my full length in the temple.

CHAPTER II

The Emperor of Lilliput, attended by several of the Nobility, comes to see the Author in his Confinement. The Emperor's Person and Habit described. Learned Men appointed to teach the Author their Language. He gains Favour by his mild Disposition. His Pockets are searched, and his Sword and Pistols taken from him.

WHEN I found myself on my feet, I looked about me, and must confess I never beheld a more entertaining prospect. The country around appeared like a continued garden, and the enclosed fields, which were generally forty
5 foot square, resembled so many beds of flowers. These fields were intermingled with woods of half a *stang*¹, and the tallest trees, as I could judge, appeared to be seven foot high. I viewed the town on my left hand, which looked like the painted scene of a city in a theatre * * *

10 The emperor was already descended from the tower, and advancing on horseback towards me, which had like to have cost him dear, for the beast, though very well trained, yet wholly unused to such a sight, which appeared as if a mountain moved before him, reared up on his hinder
15 feet but that prince, who is an excellent horseman, kept his seat, till his attendants ran in, and held the bridle, while his majesty had time to dismount. When he alighted, he surveyed me round with great admiration, but kept without the length of my chain. He ordered his cooks and
20 butlers, who were already prepared, to give me victuals and drink, which they pushed forward in a sort of vehicles upon wheels, till I could reach them. I took those vehicles, and soon emptied them all, twenty of them were filled with meat, and ten with liquor, each of the former
25 afforded me two or three good mouthfuls, and I emptied the liquor of ten vessels, which was contained in earthen

¹ A *stang* is a pole or perch, sixteen feet and a half

vials, into one vehicle, drinking it off at a draught, and so I did with the rest. The empress and young princes of the blood of both sexes, attended by many ladies, sate at some distance in their chairs, but upon the accident that happened to the emperor's horse, they alighted, and 5 came near his person, which I am now going to describe. He is taller, by almost the breadth of my nail, than any of his court, which alone is enough to strike an awe into the beholders. His features are strong and masculine, with an Austrian lip and arched nose, his complexion 10 olive, his countenance erect, his body and limbs well proportioned, all his motions graceful, and his deportment majestic. He was then past his prime, being twenty-eight years and three quarters old, of which he had reigned about seven in great felicity, and generally victorious. For the 15 better convenience of beholding him, I lay on my side, so that my face was parallel to his, and he stood but three yards off; however, I have had him since many times in my hand, and therefore cannot be deceived in the description. His dress was very plain and simple, and the fashion of it 20 between the Asiatic and the European; but he had on his head a light helmet of gold, adorned with jewels, and a plume on the crest. He held his sword drawn in his hand to defend himself, if I should happen to break loose; it was almost three inches long, the hilt and scabbard were gold 25 enriched with diamonds. His voice was shrill, but very clear and articulate, and I could distinctly hear it when I stood up. The ladies and courtiers were all most magnificently clad, so that the spot they stood upon seemed to resemble a petticoat spread on the ground, embroidered 30 with figures of gold and silver. His imperial majesty spoke often to me, and I returned answers; but neither of us could understand a syllable. There were several of his priests and lawyers present, (as I conjectured by their habits,) who

were commanded to address themselves to me , and I spoke to them in as many languages as I had the least smattering of, which were High and Low Dutch, Latin, French, Spanish, Italian, and Lingua Franca, but all to no purpose After
5 about two hours the court retired, and I was left with a strong guard, to prevent the impertinence, and probably the malice, of the rabble, who were very impatient to crowd about me as near as they durst , and some of them had the impudence to shoot their arrows at me, as I sate on the
10 ground by the door of my house, whereof one very narrowly missed my left eye But the colonel ordered six of the ringleaders to be seized, and thought no punishment so proper, as to deliver them bound into my hands , which some of his soldiers accordingly did, pushing them forward
15 with the but-ends of their pikes into my reach I took them all in my right hand, put five of them into my coat-pocket, and as to the sixth, I made a countenance as if I would eat him alive The poor man squalled terribly, and the colonel and his officers were in much pain, especially
20 when they saw me take out my pen-knife but I soon put them out of fear , for, looking mildly, and immediately cutting the strings he was bound with, I set him gently on the ground, and away he ran I treated the rest in the same manner, taking them one by one out of my pocket , and I
25 observed both the soldiers and people were highly obliged at this mark of my clemency, which was represented very much to my advantage at court

Towards night I got with some difficulty into my house, where I lay on the ground, and continued to do so about a
30 fortnight , during which time, the emperor gave orders to have a bed prepared for me Six hundred beds of the common measure were brought in carriages, and worked up in my house , an hundred and fifty of their beds, sewn together, made up the breadth and length , and these were

four double , which, however, kept me but very indifferently from the hardness of the floor, that was of smooth stone By the same computation, they provided me with sheets, blankets, and coverlets, tolerable enough for one who had been so long inured to hardships as I

5

As the news of my arrival spread through the kingdom, it brought prodigious numbers of rich, idle, and curious people to see me , so that the villages were almost emptied , and great neglect of tillage and household affairs must have ensued, if his imperial majesty had not provided, by several 10 proclamations and orders of state, against this inconvenience He directed that those who had already beheld me should return home, and not presume to come within fifty yards of my house, without licence from court , whereby the secretaries of state got considerable fees

15

In the meantime the emperor held frequent councils, to debate what course should be taken with me , and I was afterwards assured by a particular friend, a person of great quality, who was looked upon to be as much in the secret as any, that the court was under many difficulties concerning 20 me They apprehended my breaking loose that my diet would be very expensive, and might cause a famine Sometimes they determined to starve me, or at least to shoot me in the face and hands with poisoned arrows, which would soon dispatch me , but again they considered, that the stench of 25 so large a carcase might produce a plague in the metropolis, and probably spread through the whole kingdom In the midst of these consultations, several officers of the army went to the door of the great council chamber, and two of them being admitted, gave an account of my behaviour to 30 the six criminals above-mentioned, which made so favourable an impression in the breast of his majesty and the whole board, in my behalf, that an imperial commission was issued out, obliging all the villages, nine hundred yards round the

city, to deliver in every morning six beeves, forty sheep, and other victuals, for my sustenance, together with a proportionable quantity of bread, and wine, and other liquors, for the due payment of which, his majesty gave assignments
5 upon his treasury For this prince lives chiefly upon his own demesnes, seldom, except upon great occasions, raising any subsidies upon his subjects, who are bound to attend him in his wars at their own expense An establishment was also made of six hundred persons to be my domestics,
10 who had board wages allowed for their maintenance, and tents built for them very conveniently on each side of my door It was likewise ordered, that three hundred tailors should make me a suit of clothes, after the fashion of the country, that six of his majesty's greatest scholars should
15 be employed to instruct me in their language and, lastly, that the emperor's horses, and those of the nobility and troops of guards, should be frequently exercised in my sight, to accustom themselves to me All these orders were duly put in execution, and in about three weeks I made
20 a great progress in learning their language, during which time the emperor frequently honoured me with his visits, and was pleased to assist my masters in teaching me We began already to converse together in some sort, and the first words I learnt, were to express my desire that he
25 would please to give me my liberty, which I every day repeated on my knees His answer, as I could apprehend it, was, that this must be a work of time, not to be thought on without the advice of his council, and that first I must *lumos kelmin pesso desmar lon emposo*, that is, swear a
30 peace with him and his kingdom However, that I should be used with all kindness And he advised me to acquire by my patience and discreet behaviour, the good opinion of himself and his subjects He desired I would not take it ill, if he gave orders to certain proper officers to search me,

for probably I might carry about me several weapons which must needs be dangerous things, if they answered the bulk of so prodigious a person. I said, His majesty should be satisfied, for I was ready to strip myself, and turn up my pockets before him. This I delivered part in words and 5 part in signs. He replied, that by the laws of the kingdom, I must be searched by two of his officers, that he knew this could not be done without my consent and assistance, that he had so good an opinion of my generosity and justice, as to trust their persons in my hands, that whatever 10 they took from me, should be returned when I left the country, or paid for at the rate which I would set upon them. I took up the two officers in my hands, put them first into my coat-pockets, and then into every other pocket about me, except my two fobs, and another secret pocket, 15 I had no mind should be searched, wherein I had some little necessaries that were of no consequence to any but myself. In one of my fobs there was a silver watch, and in the other a small quantity of gold in a purse. These gentlemen, having pen, ink, and paper about them, made an 20 exact inventory of everything they saw, and when they had done, desired I would set them down, that they might deliver it to the emperor. This inventory I afterwards translated into English, and is, word for word, as follows —

Imprimis, In the right coat-pocket of the great man- 25 mountain, (for so I interpret the words *quinbus flestrin*,) after the strictest search, we found only one great piece of coarse cloth, large enough to be a foot-cloth for your Majesty's chief room of state. In the left pocket we saw a huge silver chest, with a cover of the same metal, which 30 we the searchers were not able to lift. We desired it should be opened, and one of us stepping into it, found himself up to the mid-leg in a sort of dust, some part whereof flying up to our faces, set us both a sneezing for several times to-

gether In his right waistcoat-pocket we found a prodigious bundle of white thin substances, folded one over another, about the bigness of three men, tied with a strong cable, and marked with black figures, which we humbly conceive
5 to be writings, every letter almost half as large as the palm of our hands In the left there was a sort of engine, from the back of which were extended twenty long poles, resembling the palisadoes before your majesty's court, where-with we conjecture the man-mountain combs his head, for
10 we did not always trouble him with questions, because we found it a great difficulty to make him understand us In the large pocket, on the right side of his middle cover, (so I translate the word *ranfulo*, by which they meant my breeches,) we saw a hollow pillar of iron, about the length
15 of a man, fastened to a strong piece of timber larger than the pillar, and upon one side of the pillar were huge pieces of iron sticking out, cut into strange figures, which we know not what to make of In the left pocket, another engine of the same kind In the smaller pocket, on the right side,
20 were several round flat pieces of white and red metal, of different bulk, some of the white, which seemed to be silver, were so large and heavy, that my comrade and I could hardly lift them In the left pocket were two black pillars irregularly shaped, we could not, without difficulty,
25 reach the top of them, as we stood at the bottom of his pocket One of them was covered, and seemed all of a piece, but at the upper end of the other there appeared a white round substance, about twice the bigness of our heads Within each of these was enclosed a prodigious
30 plate of steel, which, by our orders, we obliged him to shew us, because we apprehended they might be dangerous engines He took them out of their cases, and told us, that, in his own country, his practice was to shave his beard with one of these, and to cut his meat with the other. There were

two pockets which we could not enter, these he called his fobs, they were two large slits cut into the top of his middle cover, but squeezed close by the pressure of his belly. Out of the right fob hung a great silver chain, with a wonderful kind of engine at the bottom. We directed him to draw 5 out whatever was fastened to that chain, which appeared to be a globe, half silver, and half of some transparent metal, for, on the transparent side, we saw certain strange figures circularly drawn, and thought we could touch them, till we found our fingers stopped by that lucid substance 10. He put this engine to our ears, which made an incessant noise, like that of a water-mill, and we conjecture it is either some unknown animal, or the god that he worships, but we are more inclined to the latter opinion, because he assured us, (if we understood him right, for he expressed him- 15 self very imperfectly,) that he seldom did anything without consulting it. He called it his oracle, and said, it pointed out the time for every action of his life. From the left fob he took out a net, almost large enough for a fisherman, but contrived to open and shut like a purse, and served him for the same 20 use. We found therein several massy pieces of yellow metal, which, if they be real gold, must be of immense value.

Having thus, in obedience to your Majesty's commands, diligently searched all his pockets, we observed a girdle about his waist, made of the hide of some prodigious ani- 25 mal, from which, on the left side, hung a sword of the length of five men, and on the right, a bag or pouch divided into two cells, each cell capable of holding three of your Majesty's subjects. In one of these cells were several globes, or balls, of a most ponderous metal, about 30 the bigness of our heads, and required a strong hand to lift them. The other cell contained a heap of certain black grains, but of no great bulk or weight, for we could hold above fifty of them in the palms of our hands.

This is an exact inventory of what we found about the body of the man-mountain, who used us with great civility, and due respect to your Majesty's commission Signed and sealed on the fourth day of the eighty-ninth
5 moon of your Majesty's auspicious reign

CLEFRIN FRELOCK, MARSI FRELOCK

When this inventory was read over to the emperor, he directed me, although in very gentle terms, to deliver up the several particulars He first called for my scymitar,
10 which I took out, scabbard and all In the meantime he ordered three thousand of his choicest troops, (who then attended him,) to surround me, at a distance, with their bows and arrows just ready to discharge, but I did not observe it, for mine eyes were wholly fixed upon his Ma-
15 jesty He then desired me to draw my scymitar, which, although it had got some rust by the sea-water, was in most parts exceeding bright I did so, and immediately all the troops gave a shout between terror and surprise, for the sun shone clear, and the reflection dazzled their eyes, as
20 I waved the scymitar to and fro in my hand His Majesty, who is a most magnanimous prince, was less daunted than I could expect, he ordered me to return it into the scabbard, and cast it on the ground as gently as I could, about six foot from the end of my chain The next thing
25 he demanded was one of the hollow iron pillars, by which he meant my pocket pistols I drew it out, and, at his desire, as well as I could, expressed to him the use of it, and charging it only with powder, which, by the closeness of my pouch, happened to escape wetting in the sea, (an
30 inconvenience against which all prudent mariners take special care to provide,) I first cautioned the emperor not to be afraid, and then I let it off in the air The astonishment here was much greater than at the sight of my scymi-

tar Hundreds fell down as if they had been struck dead, and even the emperor, although he stood his ground, could not recover himself in some time I delivered up both my pistols in the same manner as I had done my scymitar, and then my pouch of powder and 5 bullets, begging him that the former might be kept from the fire, for it would kindle with the smallest spark, and blow up his imperial palace into the air I likewise delivered up my watch, which the emperor was very curious to see, and commanded two of his tallest yeomen of the guards 10 to bear it on a pole upon their shoulders, as draymen in England do a barrel of ale He was amazed at the continual noise it made, and the motion of the minute-hand, which he could easily discern, for their sight is much more acute than ours, and asked the opinions of his 15 learned men about him, which were various and remote, as the reader may well imagine without my repeating, although indeed I could not very perfectly understand them I then gave up my silver and copper money, my purse with nine large pieces of gold, and some smaller ones, my knife 20 and razor, my comb and silver snuff-box, my handkerchief and journal-book My scymitar, pistols, and pouch, were conveyed in carriages to his Majesty's stores, but the rest of my goods were returned me

I had, as I before observed, one private pocket, which 25 escaped their search, wherein there was a pair of spectacles, (which I sometimes use for the weakness of mine eyes,) a pocket perspective, and several other little conveniences, which being of no consequence to the emperor, I did not think myself bound in honour to discover, and I apprehended they might be lost or spoiled if I ventured them out 30 of my possession.

CHAPTER III

The Author diverts the Emperor, and his Nobility of both Sexes, in a very uncommon Manner The Diversions of the Court of Lilliput described The Author hath his Liberty granted him upon certain Conditions

My gentleness and good behaviour had gained so far on the emperor and his court, and indeed upon the army and people in general, that I began to conceive hopes of getting my liberty in a short time I took all possible
5 methods to cultivate this favourable disposition The natives came, by degrees, to be less apprehensive of any danger from me I would sometimes lie down, and let five or six of them dance on my hand, and at last the boys and girls would venture to come and play at hide-and-seek in my
10 hair I had now made a good progress in understanding and speaking their language The emperor had a mind one day to entertain me with several of the country shows, wherein they exceed all nations I have known, both for dexterity and magnificence I was diverted with none so much
15 as that of the rope-dancers, performed upon a slender white thread, extended about two foot, and twelve inches from the ground Upon which I shall desire liberty, with the reader's patience, to enlarge a little

This diversion is only practised by those persons, who
20 are candidates for great employments, and high favour at court They are trained in this art from their youth, and are not always of noble birth, or liberal education When a great office is vacant, either by death or disgrace, (which often happens,) five or six of those candidates petition the
25 emperor to entertain his majesty and the court with a dance on the rope, and whoever jumps the highest, without falling, succeeds in the office Very often the chief ministers themselves are commanded to shew their skill, and to con-

vince the emperor that they have not lost their faculty Flimnap, the treasurer, is allowed to cut a caper on the straight rope, at least an inch higher than any other lord in the whole empire I have seen him do the summerset several times together, upon a trencher fixed on the rope, 5 which is no thicker than a common packthread in England My friend Reldresal, principal secretary for private affairs, is, in my opinion, if I am not partial, the second after the treasurer, the rest of the great officers are much upon a par 10

These diversions are often attended with fatal accidents, whereof great numbers are on record I myself have seen two or three candidates break a limb But the danger is much greater, when the ministers themselves are commanded to shew their dexterity, for, by contending to 15 excel themselves and their fellows, they strain so far, that there is hardly one of them who has not received a fall, and some of them two or three I was assured, that, a year or two before my arrival, Flimnap would infallibly have broke his neck, if one of the king's cushions, that accidentally lay 20 on the ground, had not weakened the force of his fall

There is likewise another diversion, which is only shewn before the emperor and empress, and first minister, upon particular occasions The emperor lays on a table three fine silken threads of six inches long, one is blue, the other 25 red, and the third green These threads are proposed as prizes for those persons whom the emperor hath a mind to distinguish by a peculiar mark of his favour. The ceremony is performed in his Majesty's great chamber of state, where the candidates are to undergo a trial of dexterity, very different from the former, and such as I have not observed the least resemblance of in any other country of the old or the new world The emperor holds a stick in his hands, both ends 30 parallel to the horizon, while the candidates advancing, one

by one, sometimes leap over the stick, sometimes creep under it, backwards and forwards, several times, according as the stick is advanced or depressed. Sometimes the emperor holds one end of the stick, and the first minister the other, sometimes the minister has it entirely to himself. Whoever performs his part with most agility, and holds out the longest in leaping and creeping, is rewarded with the blue-coloured silk, the red is given to the next, and the green to the third, which they all wear girt twice round about the middle, and you see few great persons about this court who are not adorned with one of these girdles * * *

CHAPTER IV.

A Conversation between the Author and a principal Secretary, concerning the Affairs of that Empire. The Author's Offers to serve the Emperor in his Wars.

One morning, about a fortnight after I had obtained my liberty¹, Reldresal, principal secretary (as they style him) of private affairs, came to my house attended only by one
15 servant. He ordered his coach to wait at a distance, and desired I would give him an hour's audience, which I readily consented to, on account of his quality and personal merits, as well as the many good offices he had done me during my solicitations at court. I offered to lie down, that
20 he might the more conveniently reach my ear, but he chose rather to let me hold him in my hand during our conversation. He began with compliments on my liberty, said he might pretend to some merit in it, but, however, added, that if it had not been for the present
25 situation of things at court, perhaps I might not have obtained it so soon. For, said he, as flourishing a con-

¹ Gulliver has just described how, on swearing to certain articles, he was freed from his chains

dition as we may appear to be in to foreigners, we labour under two mighty evils, a violent faction at home, and the danger of an invasion by a most potent enemy, from abroad. As to the first, you are to understand, that for above seventy moons past there have been two struggling parties in this empire, under the names of *Tramecksan* and *Slamecksan*, from the high and low heels on their shoes, by which they distinguish themselves. It is alleged, indeed, that the high heels are most agreeable to our ancient constitution, but, however this be, his majesty hath determined to make use of only low heels in the administration of the government, and all offices in the gift of the crown, as you cannot but observe, and particularly, that his majesty's imperial heels are lower at least by a *drurr*, than any of his court (*drurr* is a measure about the fourteenth part of an inch). The animosities between these two parties run so high, that they will neither eat, nor drink, nor talk with each other. We compute the *Tramecksan*, or high-heels, to exceed us in number, but the power is wholly on our side. We apprehend his imperial highness, the heir to the crown, to have some tendency towards the high-heels, at least, we can plainly discover one of his heels higher than the other, which gives him a hobble in his gait. Now, in the midst of these intestine disquiets, we are threatened with an invasion from the Island of Blefuscu, which is the other great empire of the universe, almost as large and powerful as this of his majesty. For, as to what we have heard you affirm, that there are other kingdoms and states in the world, inhabited by human creatures as large as yourself, our philosophers are in much doubt, and would rather conjecture that you dropped from the moon, or one of the stars, because it is certain, that an hundred mortals of your bulk would in a short time destroy all the fruits and cattle of his majesty's dominions. besides, our histories of

six thousand moons make no mention of any other regions than the two great empires of Lilliput and Blefuscu Which two mighty powers have, as I was going to tell you, been engaged in a most obstinate war for six-and-thirty moons
5 past It began upon the following occasion it is allowed on all hands, that the primitive way of breaking eggs before we eat them, was upon the larger end, but his present majesty's grandfather, while he was a boy, going to eat an egg, and breaking it according to the ancient practice, hap-
10 pened to cut one of his fingers Whereupon the emperor his father published an edict, commanding all his subjects, upon great penalties, to break the smaller ends of their eggs The people so highly resented this law, that our histories tell us, there have been six rebellions raised on
15 that account, wherein one emperor lost his life, and another his crown These civil commotions were constantly fomented by the monarchs of Blefuscu, and when they were quelled, the exiles always fled for refuge to that empire It is computed that eleven thousand persons have
20 at several times suffered death, rather than submit to break their eggs at the smaller end. Many hundred large volumes have been published upon this controversy but the books of the Big-endians have been long forbidden, and the whole party rendered incapable by law of holding employments
25 During the course of these troubles, the emperors of Blefuscu did frequently expostulate by their ambassadors, accusing us of making a schism in religion, by offending against a fundamental doctrine of our great prophet Lustrog, in the fifty-fourth chapter of the Brundecral, (which
30 is their Alcoran) This, however, is thought to be a mere strain upon the text, for the words are these that all true believers shall break their eggs at the convenient end And which is the convenient end, seems, in my humble opinion, to be left to every man's conscience, or at least in the

power of the chief magistrate to determine Now, the Big-endian exiles have found so much credit in the emperor of Blefuscu's court, and so much private assistance and encouragement from their party here at home, that a bloody war hath been carried on between the two empires 5 for six-and-thirty moons, with various success during which time we have lost forty capital ships, and a much greater number of smaller vessels, together with thirty thousand of our best seamen and soldiers, and the damage received by the enemy is reckoned to be somewhat greater 10 than ours However, they have now equipped a numerous fleet, and are just preparing to make a descent upon us, and his imperial majesty, placing great confidence in your valour and strength, hath commanded me to lay this account of his affairs before you 15

I desired the secretary to present my humble duty to the emperor, and to let him know, that I thought it would not become me, who was a foreigner, to interfere with parties, but I was ready, with the hazard of my life, to defend 20 his person and state against all invaders

CHAPTER V

The Author, by an extraordinary Stratagem, prevents an Invasion A high Title of Honour is conferred upon him Ambassadors arrive from the Emperor of Blefuscu, and sue for Peace

THE empire of Blefuscu is an island situated to the north-north-east side of Lilliput, from whence it is parted only by a channel of eight hundred yards wide I had not yet seen it, and upon this notice of an intended invasion, I avoided appearing on that side of the coast, for fear of being dis- 25 covered by some of the enemy's ships, who had received no intelligence of me, all intercourse between the two empires having been strictly forbidden during the war, upon pain of

death, and an embargo laid by our emperor upon all vessels whatsoever I communicated to his majesty a project I had formed of seizing the enemy's whole fleet, which, as our scouts assured us, lay at anchor in the harbour, ready to
5 sail with the first fair wind I consulted the most experienced seamen upon the depth of the channel, which they had often plumbed, who told me, that in the middle, at high water, it was seventy *glumgluffs* deep, which is about six foot of European measure, and the rest of it fifty *glum-*
10 *gluffs* at most I walked towards the north-east coast, over against Blefuscu, and, lying down behind a hillock, took out my small pocket perspective glass, and viewed the enemy's fleet at anchor, consisting of about fifty men-of-war, and a great number of transports I then came back to my house,
15 and gave orders (for which I had a warrant) for a great quantity of the strongest cable and bars of iron The cable was about as thick as packthread, and the bars of the length and size of a knitting-needle I trebled the cable to make it stronger, and for the same reason I twisted three of the
20 iron bars together, binding the extremities into a hook Having thus fixed fifty hooks to as many cables, I went back to the north-east coast, and, putting off my coat, shoes, and stockings, walked into the sea, in my leathern jerkin, about half an hour before high water I waded with what
25 haste I could, and swam in the middle about thirty yards, till I felt ground I arrived at the fleet in less than half an hour. The enemy was so frightened when they saw me, that they leaped out of their ships, and swam to shore, where there could not be fewer than thirty thousand souls
30 I then took my tackling, and, fastening a hook to the hole at the prow of each, I tied all the cords together at the end While I was thus employed, the enemy discharged several thousand arrows, many of which stuck in my hands and face, and, besides the excessive smart, gave me much dis-

turbance in my work. My greatest apprehension was for my eyes, which I should have infallibly lost, if I had not suddenly thought of an expedient. I kept, among other little necessities, a pair of spectacles in a private pocket, which, as I observed before, had scaped the emperor's 5 searchers. These I took out, and fastened as strongly as I could upon my nose, and thus armed, went on boldly with my work, in spite of the enemy's arrows, many of which struck against the glasses of my spectacles, but without any other effect further than a little to discompose them. I had 10 now fastened all the hooks, and, taking the knot in my hand, began to pull, but not a ship would stir, for they were all too fast held by their anchors, so that the boldest part of my enterprize remained. I therefore let go the cord, and, leaving the hooks fixed to the ships, I resolutely cut 15 with my knife the cables that fastened the anchors, receiving about two hundred shots in my face and hands, then I took up the knotted end of the cables, to which my hooks were tied, and with great ease drew fifty of the enemy's largest men-of-war after me. 20

The Blefuscudians, who had not the least imagination of what I intended, were at first confounded with astonishment. They had seen me cut the cables, and thought my design was only to let the ships run a-drift, or fall foul on each other, but when they perceived the whole fleet moving in 25 order, and saw me pulling at the end, they set up such a scream of grief and despair, that it is almost impossible to describe or conceive. When I had got out of danger, I stopped awhile to pick out the arrows that stuck in my hands and face, and rubbed on some of the same ointment that was 30 given me at my first arrival, as I have formerly mentioned. I then took off my spectacles, and, waiting about an hour, till the tide was a little fallen, I waded through the middle with my cargo, and arrived safe at the royal port of Lilliput.

The emperor and his whole court stood on the shore, expecting the issue of this great adventure. They saw the ships move forward in a large half-moon, but could not discern me, who was up to my breast in water. When I
5 advanced to the middle of the channel, they were yet more in pain, because I was under water to my neck. The emperor concluded me to be drowned, and that the enemy's fleet was approaching in a hostile manner; but he was soon eased of his fears, for the channel growing shallower every
10 step I made, I came in a short time within hearing, and, holding up the end of the cable, by which the fleet was fastened, I cried in a loud voice, Long live the most puissant Emperor of Lilliput! This great prince received me at my landing with all possible encomiums, and created
15 me a *Nardac* upon the spot, which is the highest title of honour among them.

His majesty desired I would take some other opportunity of bringing all the rest of his enemy's ships into his ports. And so unmeasurable is the ambition of princes, that he
20 seemed to think of nothing less than reducing the whole empire of Blefuscu into a province, and governing it by a viceroy, of destroying the Big-endian exiles, and compelling that people to break the smaller end of their eggs, by which he would remain the sole monarch of the whole
25 world. But I endeavoured to divert him from this design, by many arguments drawn from the topics of policy as well as justice; and I plainly protested, that I would never be an instrument of bringing a free and brave people into slavery. And, when the matter was debated in council, the
30 wisest part of the ministry were of my opinion.

This open, bold declaration of mine, was so opposite to the schemes and politics of his imperial majesty, that he could never forgive it. He mentioned it in a very artful manner at council, where I was told that some of the wisest

appeared, at least, by their silence, to be of my opinion, but others, who were my secret enemies, could not forbear some expressions, which, by a sidewind, reflected on me. And from this time began an intrigue between his majesty and a junto of ministers, maliciously bent against me, which broke out in less than two months, and had like to have ended in my utter destruction. Of so little weight are the greatest services to princes, when put into the balance with a refusal to gratify their passions * * *

CHAPTER VII

The Author, being informed of a Design to accuse him of High Treason, makes his Escape to Blefuscu His Reception there

BEFORE I proceed to give an account of my leaving this kingdom, it may be proper to inform the reader of a private intrigue, which had been for two months forming against me

I had been hitherto, all my life, a stranger to courts, for which I was unqualified by the meanness of my condition. I had indeed heard and read enough of the dispositions of great princes and ministers, but never expected to have found such terrible effects of them, in so remote a country, governed, as I thought, by very different maxims from those in Europe

When I was just preparing to pay my attendance on the Emperor of Blefuscu, a considerable person at court (to whom I had been very serviceable, at a time when he lay under the highest displeasure of his imperial majesty) came to my house very privately at night, in a close chair, and, without sending his name, desired admittance. The chairmen were dismissed, I put the chair, with his lordship in it, into my coat-pocket and, giving orders to a trusty servant to say I was indisposed and gone to sleep, I fastened

the door of my house, placed the chair on the table, according to my usual custom, and sate down by it After the common salutations were over, observing his lordship's countenance full of concern, and inquiring into the reason, 5 he desired I would hear him with patience, in a matter that highly concerned my honour and my life His speech was to the following effect, for I took notes of it as soon as he left me —

You are to know, said he, that several committees of 10 council have been lately called in the most private manner, on your account, and it is but two days since his majesty came to a full resolution

You are very sensible that Skyris Bolgolam, (*galbet*, or high-admiral,) hath been your mortal enemy, almost ever 15 since your arrival His original reasons I know not, but his hatred is much increased since your great success against Blefuscu, by which his glory as admiral is obscured This lord, in conjunction with Flimnap the high-treasurer, whose enmity against you is notorious, on account of his 20 lady, Limtoc the general, Lalcon the chamberlain, and Balmuff the grand justiciary, have prepared articles of impeachment against you, for treason and other capital crimes

This preface made me so impatient, being conscious 25 of my own merits and innocence, that I was going to interrupt, when he entreated me to be silent, and thus proceeded —

Out of gratitude for the favours you have done me, I procured information of the whole proceedings, and a 30 copy of the articles, wherein I venture my head for your service

*Some of the Articles of Impeachment against QUINBUS
FLESTRIN, the Man-Mountain*

ARTICLE I.

* * * * *

ARTICLE II

‘That the said Quinbus Flestrin, having brought the imperial fleet of Blefuscu into the royal port, and being afterwards commanded by his imperial majesty to seize all the other ships of the said empire of Blefuscu, and reduce that empire to a province, to be governed by a viceroy from 5 hence, and to destroy and put to death, not only all the Big-endian exiles, but likewise all the people of that empire who would not immediately forsake the Big-endian heresy, he, the said Flestrin, like a false traitor against his most auspicious, serene, imperial majesty, did petition to be excused 10 from the said service, upon pretence of unwillingness to force the consciences, or destroy the liberties and lives, of an innocent people

ARTICLE III

‘That, whereas certain ambassadors arrived from the court of Blefuscu, to sue for peace in his majesty’s court, 15 he, the said Flestrin, did, like a false traitor, aid, abet, comfort, and divert the said ambassadors, although he knew them to be servants to a prince who was lately an open enemy to his imperial majesty, and in open war against his said majesty. 20

ARTICLE IV

‘That the said Quinbus Flestrin, contrary to the duty of a faithful subject, is now preparing to make a voyage to the court and empire of Blefuscu, for which he hath received only verbal licence from his imperial majesty, and, under colour of the said licence, does falsely and traitor- 25

ously intend to take the said voyage, and thereby to aid, comfort, and abet the emperor of Blefuscu, so late an enemy, and in open war with his imperial majesty aforesaid'

5 There are some other articles, but these are the most important, of which I have read you an abstract

In the several debates upon this impeachment, it must be confessed, that his majesty gave many marks of his great lenity, often urging the services you had done him, and
10 endeavouring to extenuate your crimes The treasurer and admiral insisted that you should be put to the most painful and ignominious death, by setting fire on your house at night, and the general was to attend with twenty thousand men, armed with poisoned arrows, to shoot you on the face
15 and hands Some of your servants were to have private orders to strew a poisonous juice on your shirts which would soon make you tear your own flesh, and die in the utmost torture The general came into the same opinion, so that for a long time there was a majority against
20 you, but his majesty resolving, if possible, to spare your life, at last brought off the chamberlain

Upon this incident, Reldresal, principal secretary for private affairs, who always approved himself your true friend, was commanded by the emperor to deliver his opinion, which
25 he accordingly did, and therein justified the good thoughts you have of him He allowed your crimes to be great, but that still there was room for mercy, the most commendable virtue in a prince, and for which his majesty was so justly celebrated He said the friendship between you and him
30 was so well known to the world, that perhaps the most honourable board might think him partial, however, in obedience to the command he had received, he would freely offer his sentiments That if his majesty, in consideration

of your services, and pursuant to his own merciful disposition, would please to spare your life, and only give order to put out both your eyes, he humbly conceived, that, by this expedient, justice might in some measure be satisfied, and all the world would applaud the lenity of the emperor, as well as the fair and generous proceedings of those who have the honour to be his counsellors. That the loss of your eyes would be no impediment to your bodily strength, by which you might still be useful to his majesty that blindness is an addition to courage, by concealing dangers from us, that the fear you had for your eyes was the greatest difficulty in bringing over the enemy's fleet, and it would be sufficient for you to see by the eyes of the ministers, since the greatest princes do no more

This proposal was received with the utmost disapprobation by the whole board. Bolgolam, the admiral, could not preserve his temper, but, rising up in fury, said, he wondered how the secretary durst presume to give his opinion for preserving the life of a traitor that the services you had performed were, by all true reasons of state, the great aggravation of your crimes, that the same strength, which enabled you to bring over the enemy's fleet, might serve, upon the first discontent, to carry it back that he had good reasons to think you were a Big-endian in your heart, and as treason begins in the heart, before it appears in overt acts, so he accused you as a traitor on that account, and therefore insisted you should be put to death

The treasurer was of the same opinion. he shewed to what straits his majesty's revenue was reduced, by the charge of maintaining you, which would soon grow insupportable that the secretary's expedient of putting out your eyes was so far from being a remedy against this evil, it would probably increase it, as it is manifest from the common prac-

tice of blinding some kind of fowl, after which they fed the faster, and grew sooner fat that his sacred majesty and the council, who are your judges, were in their own consciences fully convinced of your guilt, which was a sufficient argument to condemn you to death, without the formal proofs required by the strict letter of the law

But his imperial majesty fully determined against capital punishment, was graciously pleased to say, that since the council thought the loss of your eyes too easy a censure, some other may be inflicted hereafter And your friend the secretary, humbly desiring to be heard again, in answer to what the treasurer had objected, concerning the great charge his majesty was at in maintaining you, said, that his excellency, who had the sole disposal of the emperor's revenue, might easily provide against that evil, by gradually lessening your establishment, by which, for want of sufficient food, you would grow weak and faint, and lose your appetite, and consequently decay and consume in a few months, neither would the stench of your carcass be then so dangerous, when it should become more than half diminished, and immediately upon your death, five or six thousand of his majesty's subjects might, in two or three days, cut your flesh from your bones, take it away by cart-loads, and bury it in distant parts, to prevent infection, leaving the skeleton as a monument of admiration to posterity

Thus, by the great friendship of the secretary, the whole affair was compromised It was strictly enjoined, that the project of starving you by degrees should be kept a secret; but the sentence of putting out your eyes was entered on the books, none dissenting, except Bolgolam the admiral

In three days your friend the secretary will be directed to come to your house, and read before you the articles of impeachment, and then to signify the great lenity and favour of his majesty and council, whereby you are only

condemned to the loss of your eyes, which his majesty doth not question you will gratefully and humbly submit to , and twenty of his majesty's surgeons will attend, in order to see the operation well performed, by discharging very sharp-pointed arrows into the balls of your eyes, as you lie on the 5 ground

I leave to your prudence what measures you will take , and, to avoid suspicion, I must immediately return, in as private a manner as I came

His lordship did so , and I remained alone, under many 10 doubts and perplexities of mind

It was a custom introduced by this prince and his ministry, (very different, as I have been assured, from the practices of former times,) that after the court had decreed any cruel execution, either to gratify the monarch's resentment, or the 15 malice of a favourite, the emperor made a speech to his whole council, expressing his great lenity and tenderness, as qualities known and confessed by all the world This speech was immediately published through the kingdom , nor did anything terrify the people so much as those enco- 20 miums on his majesty's mercy , because it was observed, that the more these praises were enlarged and insisted on, the more inhuman was the punishment, and the sufferer more innocent And, as to myself, I must confess, having never been designed for a courtier, either by my birth or 25 education, I was so ill a judge of things, that I could not discover the lenity and favour of this sentence, but conceived it (perhaps erroneously) rather to be rigorous than gentle I sometimes thought of standing my trial , for, although I could not deny the facts alleged in the several 30 articles, yet I hoped they would admit of some extenuations But having in my life perused many state-trials, which I ever observed to terminate as the judges thought fit to direct, I durst not rely on so dangerous a decision, in so

critical a juncture, and against such powerful enemies
Once I was strongly bent upon resistance , for, while I had
liberty, the whole strength of that empire could hardly sub-
due me, and I might easily with stones pelt the metropolis
5 to pieces , but I soon rejected that project with horror, by
remembering the oath I had made to the emperor, the
favours I received from him, and the high title of *nardac*
he conferred upon me Neither had I so soon learned the
gratitude of courtiers, to persuade myself, that his majesty's
10 present severities acquitted me of all past obligations

At last, I fixed upon a resolution for which it is probable
I may incur some censure, and not unjustly , for I confess
I owe the preserving my eyes, and consequently my
liberty, to my own great rashness and want of experience,
15 because, if I had then known the nature of princes and
ministers, which I have since observed in many other
courts, and their methods of treating criminals less ob-
noxious than myself, I should, with great alacrity and readi-
ness, have submitted to so easy a punishment But, hurried
20 on by the precipitancy of youth, and having his imperial
majesty's licence to pay my attendance upon the emperor of
Blefuscu, I took this opportunity, before the three days were
elapsed, to send a letter to my friend the secretary, signifying
my resolution of setting out that morning for Blefuscu, pur-
25 suant to the leave I had got , and without waiting for an
answer, I went to that side of the island where our fleet lay
I seized a large man-of-war, tied a cable to the prow, and,
lifting up the anchors, I stripped myself, put my clothes
(together with my coverlet, which I brought under my arm)
30 into the vessel, and, drawing it after me, between wading and
swimming, arrived at the royal port of Blefuscu, where the
people had long expected me they lent me two guides to
direct me to the capital city, which is of the same name I
held them in my hands, till I came within two hundred

yards of the gate, and desired them to signify my arrival to one of the secretaries, and let him know, I there waited his majesty's commands. I had an answer in about an hour, that his majesty, attended by the royal family, and great officers of the court, was coming out to receive me. 5 I advanced an hundred yards. The emperor and his train alighted from their horses, the empress and ladies from their coaches, and I did not perceive they were in any fright or concern. I lay on the ground to kiss his majesty's and the empress's hand. I told his majesty that I was come, according to my promise, and with the licence of the emperor my master, to have the honour of seeing so mighty a monarch, and to offer him any service in my power, consistent with my duty to my own prince, not mentioning a word of my disgrace, because I had hitherto no regular 15 information of it, and might suppose myself wholly ignorant of any such design, neither could I reasonably conceive that the emperor would discover the secret, while I was out of his power, wherein, however, it soon appeared I was deceived. 20

I shall not trouble the reader with the particular account of my reception at this court, which was suitable to the generosity of so great a prince, nor of the difficulties I was in for want of a house and bed, being forced to lie on the ground, wrapped up in my coverlet. 25

CHAPTER VIII

The Author, by a lucky Accident, finds Means to leave Blefuscu, and, after some Difficulties, returns safe to his Native Country

THREE days after my arrival, walking out of curiosity to the north-east coast of the island, I observed, about half a league off in the sea, somewhat that looked like a boat overturned. I pulled off my shoes and stockings, and, wading

two or three hundred yards, I found the object to approach nearer by force of the tide, and then plainly saw it to be a real boat, which I supposed might by some tempest have been driven from a ship, whereupon I returned immediately
5 towards the city, and desired his imperial majesty to lend me twenty of the tallest vessels he had left, after the loss of his fleet, and three thousand seamen, under the command of the vice-admiral. This fleet sailed round, while I went back the shortest way to the coast, where I first discovered
10 the boat. I found the tide had driven it still nearer. The seamen were all provided with cordage, which I had beforehand twisted to a sufficient strength. When the ships came up, I stripped myself, and waded till I came within an hundred yards of the boat, after which I was forced to swim till
15 I got up to it. The seamen threw me the end of the cord, which I fastened to a hole in the fore-part of the boat, and the other end to a man-of-war, but I found all my labour to little purpose, for being out of my depth, I was not able to work. In this necessity, I was forced to
20 swim behind, and push the boat forwards, as often as I could, with one of my hands, and the tide favouring me, I advanced so far that I could just hold up my chin and feel the ground. I rested two or three minutes, and then gave the boat another shove, and so on, till the sea was
25 no higher than my arm-pits, and now, the most laborious part being over, I took out my other cables, which were stowed in one of the ships, and fastening them first to the boat, and then to nine of the vessels which attended me, the wind being favourable, the seamen towed and I
30 shoved, till we arrived within forty yards of the shore; and, waiting till the tide was out, I got dry to the boat, and by the assistance of two thousand men, with ropes and engines, I made a shift to turn it on its bottom, and found it was but little damaged.

I shall not trouble the reader with the difficulties I was under, by the help of certain paddles, which cost me ten days making, to get my boat to the royal port of Blefuscu, where a mighty concourse of people appeared upon my arrival, full of wonder at the sight of so prodigious a vessel 5 I told the emperor, that my good fortune had thrown this boat in my way, to carry me to some place from whence I might return into my native country, and begged his majesty's orders for getting materials to fit it up, together with his licence to depart, which, after some kind expostu- 10 lations, he was pleased to grant

I did very much wonder, in all this time, not to have heard of any express relating to me from our emperor to the court of Blefuscu. But I was afterwards given privately to understand, that his imperial majesty, never imagining I had 15 the least notice of his designs, believed I was only gone to Blefuscu in performance of my promise, according to the licence he had given me, which was well known at our court, and would return in a few days, when that ceremony was ended. But he was at last in pain at my long absence, 20 and, after consulting with the treasurer and the rest of that cabal, a person of quality was dispatched with the copy of the articles against me. This envoy had instructions to represent to the monarch of Blefuscu, the great lenity of his master, who was content to punish me no further than with 25 the loss of my eyes, that I had fled from justice, and if I did not return in two hours, I should be deprived of my title of *nardac*, and declared a traitor. The envoy further added, that in order to maintain the peace and amity between both empires, his master expected that his brother 30 of Blefuscu would give orders to have me sent back to Lilliput, bound hand and foot, to be punished as a traitor

The Emperor of Blefuscu, having taken three days to

consult, returned an answer consisting of many civilities and excuses. He said, that, as for sending me bound, his brother knew it was impossible, that although I had deprived him of his fleet, yet he owed great obligations to me
5 for many good offices I had done him in making the peace. That, however, both their majesties would soon be made easy, for I had found a prodigious vessel on the shore, able to carry me on the sea, which he had given order to fit up, with my own assistance and direction, and he hoped, in a
10 few weeks, both empires would be freed from so insupportable an incumbrance.

With this answer the envoy returned to Lilliput, and the monarch of Blefuscu related to me all that had passed, offering me, at the same time, (but under the strictest
15 confidence,) his gracious protection, if I would continue in his service, wherein although I believed him sincere, yet I resolved never more to put any confidence in princes or ministers, where I could possibly avoid it, and therefore, with all due acknowledgments for his favourable in-
20 tentions, I humbly begged to be excused. I told him, that, since fortune, whether good or evil, had thrown a vessel in my way, I was resolved to venture myself in the ocean, rather than be an occasion of difference between two such mighty monarchs. Neither did I find the emperor at
25 all displeased, and I discovered, by a certain accident, that he was very glad of my resolution, and so were most of his ministers.

These considerations moved me to hasten my departure somewhat sooner than I intended, to which the court,
30 impatient to have me gone, very readily contributed. Five hundred workmen were employed to make two sails to my boat, according to my directions, by quilting thirteen fold of their strongest linen together. I was at the pains of making ropes and cables, by twisting ten, twenty, or thirty,

of the thickest and strongest of theirs A great stone that I happened to find, after a long search, by the sea-shore, served me for an anchor I had the tallow of three hundred cows. for greasing my boat and other uses I was at incredible pains in cutting down some of the largest 5 timber-trees for oars and masts, wherein I was, however, much assisted by his majesty's ship carpenters, who helped me in smoothing them, after I had done the rough work

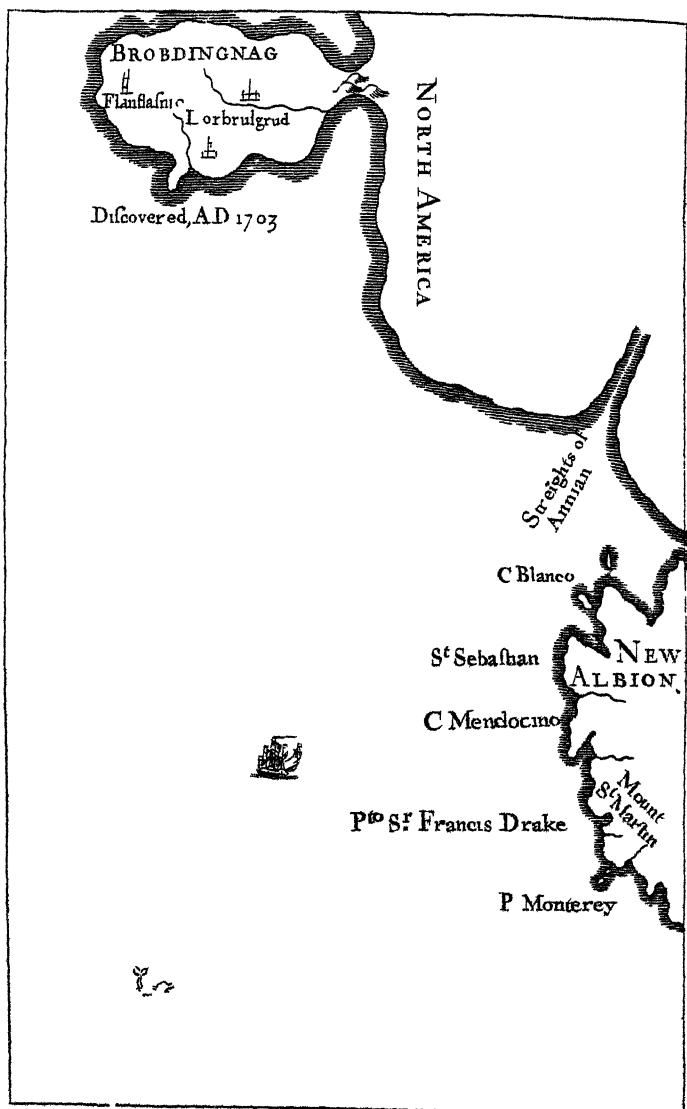
In about a month, when all was prepared, I sent to receive his majesty's commands, and to take my leave The 10 emperor and royal family came out of the palace, I lay down on my face to kiss his hand, which he very graciously gave me, so did the empress and young princes of the blood His majesty presented me with fifty purses of two hundred *sprugs* a-piece, together with his picture at full 15 length, which I put immediately into one of my gloves, to keep it from being hurt The ceremonies at my departure were too many to trouble the reader with at this time

I stored the boat with the carcasses of an hundred oxen, 20 and three hundred sheep, with bread and drink proportionable, and as much meat ready dressed as four hundred cooks could provide I took with me six cows and two bulls alive, with as many ewes and rams, intending to carry them into my own country, and propagate the breed And 25 to feed them on board, I had a good bundle of hay, and a bag of corn I would gladly have taken a dozen of the natives, but this was a thing the emperor would by no means permit, and besides a diligent search into my pockets, his majesty engaged my honour not to carry away any of 30 his subjects, although with their own consent and desire.

Having thus prepared all things as well as I was able, I set sail on the twenty-fourth day of September, 1701, at six in the morning. * * * When I had, by my computa-

tion, made twenty-four leagues from Blefuscu, I descried a sail steering to the south-east, my course was due east I hailed her, but could get no answer, yet I found I gained upon her, for the wind slackened I made all the sail I could, and in half an hour she spied me, then hung out her ancient, and discharged a gun It is not easy to express the joy I was in, upon the unexpected hope of once more seeing my beloved country, and the dear pledges I had left in it The ship slackened her sails, and I came up with her between five and six in the evening, September 26, but my heart leapt within me to see her English colours I put my cows and sheep into my coat-pockets, and got on board with all my little cargo of provisions * * *

I shall not trouble the reader with a particular account of this voyage, which was very prosperous for the most part We arrived in the Downs on the 13th of April, 1702 I had only one misfortune, that the rats on board carried away one of my sheep, I found her bones in a hole, picked clean from the flesh The rest of my cattle I got safe on shore, and set them a-grazing in a bowling-green at Greenwich, where the fineness of the grass made them feed very heartily, though I had always feared the contrary, neither could I possibly have preserved them in so long a voyage, if the captain had not allowed me some of his best biscuit, which, rubbed to powder, and mingled with water, was their constant food The short time I continued in England, I made a considerable profit by shewing my cattle to many persons of quality and others, and before I began my second voyage, I sold them for six hundred pounds Since my last return I find the breed is considerably increased, especially the sheep, which I hope will prove much to the advantage of the woollen manufacture, by the fineness of the fleeces * * *



PART II

A VOYAGE TO BROBDINGNAG

CHAPTER I

A great Storm described, the Long boat sent to fetch Water, the Author goes with it to discover the Country He is left on Shore, is seized by one of the Natives, and carried to a Farmer's house His Reception, with several Accidents that happened there

HAVING been condemned, by nature and fortune, to an active and restless life, in two months after my return, I again left my native country, and took shipping in the Downs on the 20th day of June, 1702, in the Adventure, Captain John Nicholas, a Cornish man, commander, bound 5 for Surat We had a very prosperous gale, till we arrived at the Cape of Good Hope, where we landed for fresh water, but, discovering a leak, we unshipped our goods, and wintered there, for the Captain falling sick of an ague, we could not leave the Cape till the end of March We then 10 set sail, and had a good voyage till we passed the Straits of Madagascar, but having got northward of that island, and to about five degrees south latitude, the winds, which in those seas are observed to blow a constant equal gale between the north and west, from the beginning of Decem- 15 ber to the beginning of May, on the 19th of April began to blow with much greater violence, and more westerly than usual, continuing so for twenty days together during which time we were driven a little to the east of the Molucca Islands, and about three degrees northward of the line, as 20

our Captain found by an observation he took the 2nd of May, at which time the wind ceased, and it was a perfect calm, whereat I was not a little rejoiced. But he, being a man well experienced in the navigation of those seas, bid
5 us all prepare against a storm, which accordingly happened the day following for a southern wind, called the southern monsoon, began to set in * * *

During this storm, which was followed by a strong wind west-south-west, we were carried, by my computation, about
10 five hundred leagues to the east, so that the oldest sailor on board could not tell in what part of the world we were. Our provisions held out well, our ship was staunch, and our crew all in good health, but we lay in the utmost distress for water. We thought it best to hold on the same course
15 rather than turn more northerly, which might have brought us to the north-west parts of Great Tartary, and into the Frozen Sea.

On the 16th day of June, 1703, a boy on the top-mast discovered land. On the 17th, we came in full view of
20 a great island, or continent, (for we knew not whether,) on the south side whereof was a small neck of land jutting out into the sea, and a creek too shallow to hold a ship of above one hundred tons. We cast anchor within a league of this creek, and our captain sent a dozen of his men well
25 armed in the long-boat, with vessels for water, if any could be found. I desired his leave to go with them, that I might see the country, and make what discoveries I could. When we came to land, we saw no river or spring, nor any sign of inhabitants. Our men therefore wandered on the shore
30 to find out some fresh water near the sea, and I walked alone about a mile on the other side, where I observed the country all barren and rocky. I now began to be weary, and, seeing nothing to entertain my curiosity, I returned gently down towards the creek, and the sea being full in

my view, I saw our men already got into the boat, and rowing for life to the ship. I was going to hollow after them, although it had been to little purpose, when I observed a huge creature walking after them in the sea, as fast as he could. he waded not much deeper than his knees, and took prodigious strides. but our men had the start of him half a league, and, the sea thereabouts being full of sharp-pointed rocks, the monster was not able to overtake the boat. This I was afterwards told, for I durst not stay to see the issue of that adventure, but ran as fast as I could the way I first went, and then climbed up a steep hill, which gave me some prospect of the country. I found it fully cultivated, but that which first surprised me was the length of the grass, which, in those grounds that seemed to be kept for hay, was above twenty foot high. 15

I fell into a high road, for so I took it to be, though it served to the inhabitants only as a footpath through a field of barley. Here I walked on for some time, but could see little on either side, it being now near harvest, and the corn rising at least forty foot. I was an hour walking to the end of this field, which was fenced in with a hedge of at least one hundred and twenty foot high, and the trees so lofty that I could make no computation of their altitude. There was a stile to pass from this field into the next. It had four steps, and a stone to cross over when you came to the uppermost. It was impossible for me to climb this stile, because every step was six foot high, and the upper stone above twenty. I was endeavouring to find some gap in the hedge, when I discovered one of the inhabitants in the next field, advancing towards the stile, of the same size with him whom I saw in the sea pursuing our boat. He appeared as tall as an ordinary spire-steeple, and took about ten yards at every stride, as near as I could guess. I was struck with the utmost fear and astonishment, and ran to hide myself in 30

the corn, from whence I saw him at the top of the stile, looking back into the next field on the right hand, and heard him call in a voice many degrees louder than a speaking-trumpet, but the noise was so high in the air, that at first
5 I certainly thought it was thunder Whereupon seven monsters, like himself, came towards him with reaping-hooks in their hands, each hook about the largeness of six scythes These people were not so well clad as the first, whose servants or labourers they seemed to be, for, upon some
10 words he spoke, they went to reap the corn in the field where I lay I kept from them at as great a distance as I could, but was forced to move with extreme difficulty, for the stalks of the corn were sometimes not above a foot distant, so that I could hardly squeeze my body betwixt
15 them However, I made a shift to go forward, till I came to a part of the field where the corn had been laid by the rain and wind Here it was impossible for me to advance a step, for the stalks were so interwoven, that I could not creep thorough, and the beards of the fallen ears so strong
20 and pointed, that they pierced through my clothes into my flesh At the same time I heard the reapers not above an hundred yards behind me Being quite dispirited with toil, and wholly overcome by grief and despair, I lay down between two ridges, and heartily wished I might there end
25 my days I bemoaned my desolate widow and fatherless children I lamented my own folly and wilfulness, in attempting a second voyage against the advice of all my friends and relations In this terrible agitation of mind, I could not forbear thinking of Lilliput, whose inhabitants
30 looked upon me as the greatest prodigy that ever appeared in the world, where I was able to draw an imperial fleet in my hand, and perform those other actions which will be recorded for ever in the chronicles of that empire, while posterity shall hardly believe them, although attested by

millions I reflected what a mortification it must prove to me, to appear as inconsiderable in this nation as one single Lilliputian would be among us. But this I conceived was to be the least of my misfortunes, for, as human creatures are observed to be more savage and cruel in proportion to their bulk, what could I expect but to be a morsel in the mouth of the first among these enormous barbarians that should happen to seize me? Undoubtedly philosophers are in the right, when they tell us that nothing is great or little otherwise than by comparison. It might have pleased fortune, to let the Lilliputians find some nation, where the people were as diminutive with respect to them, as they were to me. And who knows but that even this prodigious race of mortals might be equally overmatched in some distant part of the world, whereof we have yet no discovery? 15

Scared and confounded as I was, I could not forbear going on with these reflections, when one of the reapers, approaching within ten yards of the ridge where I lay, made me apprehend that with the next step I should be squashed to death under his foot, or cut in two with his reaping-hook. And, therefore, when he was again about to move, I screamed as loud as fear could make me. whereupon the huge creature trod short, and looking round about under him for some time, at last espied me as I lay on the ground. He considered a while, with the caution of one who endeavours to lay hold on a small dangerous animal in such a manner that it shall not be able either to scratch or to bite him, as I myself have sometimes done with a weasel in England. At length he ventured to take me up behind by the middle, between his fore-finger and thumb, and brought me within three yards of his eyes, that he might behold my shape more perfectly. I guessed his meaning, and my good fortune gave me so much presence of mind, that I resolved not to struggle in the least as he held me in the air above 20 25

sixty foot from the ground, although he grievously pinched my sides, for fear I should slip through his fingers All I ventured was to raise my eyes towards the sun, and place my hands together in a supplicating posture, and to speak
5 some words in an humble, melancholy tone, suitable to the condition I then was in for I apprehended every moment that he would dash me against the ground, as we usually do any little hateful animal, which we have a mind to destroy But my good star would have it, that he appeared pleased
10 with my voice and gestures, and began to look upon me as a curiosity, much wondering to hear me pronounce articulate words, although he could not understand them In the meantime, I was not able to forbear groaning and shedding tears, and turning my head towards my sides, letting
15 him know, as well as I could, how cruelly I was hurt by the pressure of his thumb and finger He seemed to apprehend my meaning, for, lifting up the lappet of his coat, he put me gently into it, and immediately ran along with me to his master, who was a substantial farmer, and the same person
20 I had first seen in the field

The farmer having (as I supposed by their talk) received such an account of me as his servant could give him, took a piece of a small straw, about the size of a walking staff, and therewith lifted up the lappets of my coat, which, it seems,
25 he thought to be some kind of covering that nature had given me He blew my hairs aside to take a better view of my face He called his hinds about him, and asked them, (as I afterwards learned) Whether they had ever seen in the fields any little creature that resembled me? He then
30 placed me softly on the ground upon all four, but I got immediately up, and walked slowly backwards and forwards, to let those people see I had no intent to run away. They all sate down in a circle about me, the better to observe my motions I pulled off my hat, and made a low bow towards

the farmer I fell on my knees, and lifted up my hands and eyes, and spoke several words as loud as I could I took a purse of gold out of my pocket, and humbly presented it to him He received it on the palm of his hand, then applied it close to his eye to see what it was, and afterwards 5 turned it several times with the point of a pin, (which he took out of his sleeve,) but could make nothing of it Whereupon I made a sign that he should place his hand on the ground I took the purse, and opening it, poured all the gold into his palm There were six Spanish pieces 10 of four pistoles each, besides twenty or thirty smaller coins I saw him wet the tip of his little finger upon his tongue, and take up one of my largest pieces, and then another, but he seemed to be wholly ignorant what they were He made me a sign to put them again into my purse, and 15 the purse again into my pocket, which after offering to him several times, I thought it best to do

The farmer, by this time, was convinced I must be a rational creature He spoke often to me, but the sound of his voice pierced my ears like that of a water-mill, yet his 20 words were articulate enough I answered as loud as I could in several languages, and he often laid his ear within two yards of me, but all in vain, for we were wholly unintelligible to each other He then sent his servants to their work, and taking his handkerchief out of his pocket, he 25 doubled, and spread it on his left hand, which he placed flat on the ground, with the palm upwards, making me a sign to step into it, as I could easily do, for it was not above a foot in thickness I thought it my part to obey, and, for fear of falling, laid myself at length upon the handkerchief, 30 with the remainder of which he lapped me up to the head for further security, and in this manner carried me home to his house. There he called his wife, and shewed me to her, but she screamed and ran back, as women in England do at

the sight of a toad or a spider. However, when she had a while seen my behaviour, and how well I observed the signs her husband made, she was soon reconciled, and by degrees grew extremely tender of me

5 It was about twelve at noon, and a servant brought in dinner. It was only one substantial dish of meat, (fit for the plain condition of an husbandman,) in a dish of about four-and-twenty foot diameter. The company were the farmer and his wife, three children, and an old grand-
10 mother. When they were sat down, the farmer placed me at some distance from him on the table, which was thirty foot high from the floor. I was in a terrible fright, and kept as far as I could from the edge, for fear of falling. The wife minced a bit of meat, then crumbled some bread on a trencher, and
15 placed it before me. I made her a low bow, took out my knife and fork, and fell to eat, which gave them exceeding delight. The mistress sent her maid for a small dram-cup, which held about three gallons, and filled it with drink. I took up the vessel with much difficulty in both hands, and
20 in a most respectful manner drank to her ladyship's health, expressing the words as loud as I could in English, which made the company laugh so heartily, that I was almost deafened with the noise. This liquor tasted like a small cider, and was not unpleasant. Then the master made me
25 a sign to come to his trencher side, but as I walked on the table, being in great surprise all the time, as the indulgent reader will easily conceive and excuse, I happened to stumble against a crust, and fell flat on my face, but received no hurt. I got up immediately, and observing the
30 good people to be in much concern, I took my hat, (which I held under my arm out of good manners,) and waving it over my head, made three huzzas, to shew I had got no mischief by my fall. But advancing forwards toward my master (as I shall henceforth call him) his youngest son,

who sate next him, an arch boy of about ten years old, took me up by the legs, and held me so high in the air, that I trembled every limb, but his father snatched me from him, and at the same time gave him such a box on the left ear, as would have felled an European troop of horse to the earth, ordering him to be taken from the table. But, being afraid the boy might owe me a spite, and well remembering how mischievous all children among us naturally are to sparrows, rabbits, young kittens, and puppy-dogs, I fell on my knees, and pointing to the boy, made my master to understand, as well as I could, that I desired his son might be pardoned. The father complied, and the lad took his seat again, whereupon I went to him, and kissed his hand, which my master took, and made him stroke me gently with it.

15

In the midst of dinner, my mistress's favourite cat leapt into her lap. I heard a noise behind me like that of a dozen stocking-weavers at work, and turning my head I found it proceeded from the purring of this animal, who seemed to be three times larger than an ox, as I computed by the view of her head, and one of her paws, while her mistress was feeding and stroking her. The fierceness of this creature's countenance altogether discomposed me, though I stood at the further end of the table, above fifty foot off, and although my mistress held her fast, for fear she might give a spring, and seize me in her talons. But it happened there was no danger, for the cat took not the least notice of me when my master placed me within three yards of her. And, as I have been always told, and found true by experience in my travels, that flying, or discovering fear before a fierce animal, is a certain way to make it pursue or attack you, so I resolved, in this dangerous juncture, to show no manner of concern. I walked with intrepidity five or six times before the very head of the cat, and

came within half a yard of her, whereupon she drew herself back, as if she were more afraid of me. I had less apprehension concerning the dogs, whereof three or four came into the room, as it is usual in farmers' houses, one of which was a mastiff, equal in bulk to four elephants, and a greyhound, somewhat taller than the mastiff, but not so large * * *

When dinner was done, my master went out to his labourers, and, as I could discover by his voice and gesture, gave his wife a strict charge to take care of me. I was very much tired, and disposed to sleep, which my mistress perceiving, she put me on her own bed, and covered me with a clean white handkerchief, but larger and coarser than the main-sail of a man-of-war * * *

CHAPTER II

A Description of the Farmer's Daughter The Author carried to a Market-Town, and then to the Metropolis The Particulars of his Journey

15 My mistress had a daughter of nine years old, a child of forward parts for her age, very dexterous at her needle, and skilful in dressing her baby. Her mother and she contrived to fit up the baby's cradle for me against night, the cradle was put into a small drawer of a cabinet, and the
20 drawer placed upon a hanging shelf for fear of the rats
* * * She gave me the name of *Grildrüg*, which the family took up, and afterwards the whole kingdom. The word imports what the Latins call *nanunculus*, the Italians *homunculetino*, and the English *mannikin*. To her I chiefly
25 owe my preservation in that country: we never parted while I was there, I called her my *Glumdaichsch*, or little nurse; and I should be guilty of great ingratitude, if I omitted this

honourable mention of her care and affection towards me, which I heartily wish it lay in my power to requite as she deserves, instead of being the innocent, but unhappy instrument of her disgrace, as I have too much reason to fear

It now began to be known and talked of in the neighbourhood, that my master had found a strange animal in the field, about the bigness of a *splacnuck*, but exactly shaped in every part like a human creature, which it likewise imitated in all its actions, seemed to speak in a little language of its own, had already learned several words of theirs, 10 went erect upon two legs, was tame and gentle, would come when it was called, do whatever it was bid, had the finest limbs in the world, and a complexion fairer than a nobleman's daughter of three years old. Another farmer, who lived hard by, and was a particular friend of my master, 15 came on a visit on purpose to inquire into the truth of this story. I was immediately produced, and placed upon a table, where I walked as I was commanded, drew my hanger, put it up again, made my reverence to my master's guest, asked him, in his own language, how he did, and told him 20 he was welcome, just as my little nurse had instructed me. This man, who was old and dim-sighted, put on his spectacles to behold me better, at which I could not forbear laughing very heartily, for his eyes appeared like the full moon shining into a chamber at two windows. Our people, 25 who discovered the cause of my mirth, bore me company in laughing, at which the old fellow was fool enough to be angry and out of countenance. He had the character of a great miser, and, to my misfortune, he well deserved it, by the cursed advice he gave my master, to shew me as 30 a sight upon a market-day in the next town, which was half an hour's riding, about two-and-twenty miles from our house. I guessed there was some mischief contriving, when I observed my master and his friend whispering long

together, sometimes pointing at me, and my fears made me fancy that I overheard and understood some of their words. But the next morning Glumdalclitch, my little nurse, told me the whole matter, which she had cunningly
5 picked out from her mother. The poor girl laid me on her bosom, and fell a-weeping with shame and grief. She apprehended some mischief would happen to me from rude vulgar folks, who might squeeze me to death, or break one of my limbs by taking me in their hands. She had also
10 observed how modest I was in my nature, how nicely I regarded my honour, and what an indignity I should conceive it to be exposed for money as a public spectacle to the meanest of the people. She said, her papa and mamma had promised that Grildrig should be hers, but now she
15 found they meant to serve her as they did last year, when they pretended to give her a lamb, and yet, as soon as it was fat, sold it to a butcher. For my own part, I may truly affirm, that I was less concerned than my nurse. I had a strong hope, which never left me, that I should one
20 day recover my liberty, and as to the ignominy of being carried about for a monster, I considered myself to be a perfect stranger in the country, and that such a misfortune could never be charged upon me as a reproach, if ever I should return to England, since the King of Great Britain
25 himself, in my condition, must have undergone the same distress.

My master, pursuant to the advice of his friend, carried me in a box the next market-day to the neighbouring town, and took along with him his little daughter, my nurse, upon
30 a pillion behind him. The box was close on every side, with a little door for me to go in and out, and a few gimlet-holes to let in air. The girl had been so careful to put the quilt of her baby's bed into it, for me to lie down on. However, I was terribly shaken and discomposed in this

journey, though it were but of half an hour, for the horse went about forty foot at every step, and trotted so high, that the agitation was equal to the rising and falling of a ship in a great storm, but much more frequent. Our journey was somewhat further than from London to St Albans. My master alighted at an inn which he used to frequent, and, after consulting a while with the inn-keeper, and making some necessary preparations, he hired the *grultrud*, or crier, to give notice through the town of a strange creature to be seen at the sign of the Green Eagle, not so big as a *splacnuck*, (an animal in that country very finely shaped, about six foot long,) and in every part of the body resembling an human creature, could speak several words, and perform an hundred diverting tricks.

I was placed upon a table in the largest room of the inn, which might be near three hundred foot square. My little nurse stood on a low stool close to the table, to take care of me, and direct what I should do. My master, to avoid a crowd, would suffer only thirty people at a time to see me. I walked about on the table as the girl commanded, she asked me questions as far as she knew my understanding of the language reached, and I answered them as loud as I could. I turned about several times to the company, paid my humble respects, said they were welcome, and used some other speeches I had been taught. I took up a thimble filled with liquor, which Glumdalclitch had given me for a cup, and drank their health. I drew out my hanger, and flourished with it after the manner of fencers in England. My nurse gave me part of a straw, which I exercised as a pike, having learnt the art in my youth. I was that day shewn to twelve sets of company, and as often forced to go over again with the same fopperies, till I was half dead with weariness and vexation, for those who had seen me made such wonderful reports, that the people were ready to break

down the doors to come in My master, for his own interest, would not suffer any one to touch me except my nurse, and, to prevent danger, benches were set round the table, at such a distance as to put me out of everybody's
5 reach However, an unlucky school-boy aimed a hazel-nut directly at my head, which very narrowly missed me, otherwise, it came with so much violence, that it would have infallibly knocked out my brains, for it was almost as large as a small pumpkin, but I had the satisfaction to see the
10 young rogue well beaten, and turned out of the room * * *

My master, finding how profitable I was like to be, resolved to carry me to the most considerable cities of the kingdom Having therefore provided himself with all things necessary for a long journey, and settled his affairs
15 at home, he took leave of his wife, and upon the 17th of August, 1703, about two months after my arrival, we set out for the metropolis, situated near the middle of that empire, and about three thousand miles distance from our house My master made his daughter Glumdalclitch ride behind
20 him She carried me on her lap, in a box tied about her waist The girl had lined it on all sides with the softest cloth she could get, well quilted underneath, furnished it with her baby's bed, provided me with linen and other necessaries, and made everything as convenient as she
25 could We had no other company but a boy of the house, who rode after us with the luggage

My master's design was to show me in all the towns by the way, and to step out of the road, for fifty or an hundred miles, to any village, or person of quality's house, where
30 he might expect custom We made easy journeys, of not above seven or eight score miles a-day, for Glumdalclitch, on purpose to spare me, complained she was tired with the trotting of the horse She often took me out of my box, at my own desire, to give me air, and shew me the country,

but always held me fast by a leading-string We passed over five or six rivers, many degrees broader and deeper than the Nile or the Ganges, and there was hardly a rivulet so small as the Thames at London Bridge We were ten weeks in our journey, and I was shewn in eighteen large towns, besides many villages and private families

CHAPTER III

The Author sent for to Court The Queen buys him of his Master the Farmer, and presents him to the King He stands up for the Honour of his own Country His Quarrels with the Queen's Dwarf

THE frequent labours I underwent every day, made in a few weeks, a very considerable change in my health the more my master got by me, the more insatiable he grew I had quite lost my stomach, and was almost reduced to a skeleton The farmer observed it, and concluding I soon must die, resolved to make as good a hand of me as he could While he was thus reasoning and resolving with himself, a *slardral*, or gentleman-usher, came from court, commanding my master to carry me immediately thither for the diversion of the queen and her ladies Some of the latter had already been to see me, and reported strange things of my beauty, behaviour, and good sense Her majesty, and those who attended her, were beyond measure delighted with my demeanour I fell on my knees, and begged the honour of kissing her imperial foot, but this gracious princess held out her little finger towards me, (after I was set on a table,) which I embraced in both my arms, and put the tip of it with the utmost respect to my lip She made me some general questions about my country and my travels, which I answered as distinctly and in as few words

as I could She asked, Whether I would be content to live at court? I bowed down to the board of the table, and humbly answered, That I was my master's slave, but, if I were at my own disposal, I should be proud to devote
5 my life to her majesty's service She then asked my master, Whether he were willing to sell me at a good price? He, who apprehended I could not live a month, was ready enough to part with me, and demanded a thousand pieces of gold, which were ordered him on the spot, each piece
10 being about the bigness of eight hundred mouldoies but allowing for the proportion of all things between that country and Europe, and the high price of gold among them, was hardly so great a sum as a thousand guineas would be in England I then said to the queen, Since I was now her
15 majesty's most humble creature and vassal, I must beg the favour that Glumdalclitch, who had always tended me with so much care and kindness, and understood to do it so well, might be admitted into her service, and continue to be my nurse and instructor

20 Her majesty agreed to my petition, and easily got the farmer's consent, who was glad enough to have his daughter preferred at court, and the poor girl herself was not able to hide her joy My late master withdrew, bidding me farewell, and saying he had left me in a good service, to which
25 I replied not a word, only making him a slight bow

The queen observed my coldness and, when the farmer was gone out of the apartment, asked me the reason I made bold to tell her majesty, That I owed no other obligation to my late master, than his not dashing out the
30 brains of a poor harmless creature found by chance in his field which obligation was amply recompensed by the gain he had made in showing me through half the kingdom, and the price he had now sold me for That the life I had since led was laborious enough to kill an animal of ten times

my strength That my health was much impaired, by the continual drudgery of entertaining the rabble every hour of the day, and that, if my master had not thought my life in danger, her majesty perhaps would not have got so cheap a bargain But as I was out of all fear of being ill-treated, under the protection of so great and good an empress, the ornament of nature, the darling of the world, the delight of her subjects, the phoenix of the creation, so, I hoped my late master's apprehensions would appear to be groundless, for I already found my spirits to revive by the influence of her most august presence 10

This was the sum of my speech, delivered with great improprieties and hesitation The latter part was altogether framed in the style peculiar to that people, whereof I learned some phrases from Glumdalclitch, while she was carrying me to court 15

The queen, giving great allowance for my defectiveness in speaking, was, however, surprised at so much wit and good sense, in so diminutive an animal She took me in her own hand, and carried me to the king, who was then retired to his cabinet His majesty, a prince of much gravity and austere countenance, not well observing my shape at first view, asked the queen after a cold manner, How long it was since she grew fond of a *splacnuck*, for such, it seems, he took me to be, as I lay upon my breast in her majesty's right hand But this princess, who hath an infinite deal of wit and humour, set me gently on my feet upon the scrutore, and commanded me to give his majesty an account of myself, which I did in a very few words and Glumdalclitch, who attended at the cabinet door, and could not endure I should be out of her sight, being admitted, confirmed all that had passed from my arrival at her father's house 30

The king, although he be as learned a person as any in

his dominions, and had been educated in the study of philosophy, and particularly mathematics, yet when he observed my shape exactly, and saw me walk erect, before I began to speak, conceived I might be a piece of clock-work (which is
5 in that country arrived to a very great perfection) contrived by some ingenious artist. But, when he heard my voice, and found what I delivered to be regular and rational, he could not conceal his astonishment. He was by no means satisfied with the relation I gave him of the manner I came
10 into his kingdom, but thought it a story concerted between Glumdalclitch and her father, who had taught me a set of words, to make me sell at a higher price. Upon this imagination, he put several other questions to me, and still received rational answers, no otherwise defective, than by
15 a foreign accent, and an imperfect knowledge in the language, with some rustic phrases which I had learned at the farmer's house, and did not suit the polite style of a court * * *

It is the custom, that every Wednesday (which, as I have
20 before observed, was their Sabbath) the king and queen, with the royal issue of both sexes, dine together in the apartment of his majesty, to whom I was now become a great favourite, and at these times my little chair and table were placed at his left hand, before one of the salt-cellars. This
25 prince took a pleasure in conversing with me, inquiring into the manners, religion, laws, government, and learning of Europe, wherein I gave him the best account I was able. His apprehension was so clear, and his judgment so exact, that he made very wise reflections and observations upon all
30 I said. But, I confess, that, after I had been a little too copious in talking of my own beloved country, of our trade, and wars by sea and land, of our schisms in religion, and parties in the state, the prejudices of his education prevailed so far, that he could not forbear taking me up in his right

hand, and stroking me gently with the other, after an hearty fit of laughing, asked me, Whether I were a Whig or a Tory? Then turning to his first minister, who waited behind him with a white staff, near as tall as the main-mast of the Royal Sovereign, he observed, How contemptible a thing was 5 human grandeur, which could be mimicked by such diminutive insects as I and yet, said he, I dare engage, these creatures have their titles and distinctions of honour, they contrive little nests and burrows, that they call houses and cities, they make a figure in dress and equipage, they 10 love, they fight, they dispute, they cheat, they betray! And thus he continued on, while my colour came and went several times with indignation, to hear our noble country, the mistress of arts and arms, the scourge of France, the arbitress of Europe, the seat of virtue, piety, 15 honour, and truth, the pride and envy of the world, so contemptuously treated

But as I was not in a condition to resent injuries, so, upon mature thoughts, I began to doubt whether I were injured or no. For, after having been accustomed several 20 months to the sight and converse of this people, and observed every object upon which I cast my eyes to be of proportionable magnitude, the horror I had first conceived from their bulk and aspect was so far worn off, that, if I had then beheld a company of English lords and ladies 25 in their finery and birth-day clothes, acting their several parts in the most courtly manner of strutting, and bowing, and prating, to say the truth, I should have been strongly tempted to laugh as much at them as this king and his grantees did at me. Neither, indeed, could I forbear 30 smiling at myself, when the queen used to place me upon her hand towards a looking-glass, by which both our persons appeared before me in full view together, and there could nothing be more ridiculous than the comparison. so that I

really began to imagine myself dwindled many degrees below my usual size

Nothing angered and mortified me so much as the queen's dwarf, who being of the lowest stature that was ever in that country, (for I verily think he was not full thirty foot high,) became insolent at seeing a creature so much beneath him, that he would always affect to swagger and look big as he passed by me in the queen's ante-chamber, while I was standing on some table talking with the lords or ladies of the court, and he seldom failed of a small word or two upon my littleness, against which I could only revenge myself by calling him *brother*, challenging him to wrestle, and such repartees as are usual in the mouths of court pages. One day, at dinner, this malicious little cub was so nettled with something I had said to him, that, raising himself upon the frame of her majesty's chair, he took me up by the middle, as I was sitting down, not thinking any harm, and let me drop into a large silver bowl of cream, and then ran away as fast as he could. I fell over head and ears, and if I had not been a good swimmer, it might have gone very hard with me, for Glumdalclitch in that instant happened to be at the other end of the room, and the queen was in such a fright that she wanted presence of mind to assist me. But my little nurse ran to my relief, and took me out, after I had swallowed above a quart of cream. I was put to bed, however I received no other damage than the loss of a suit of clothes, which was utterly spoiled. The dwarf was soundly whipped, and as a further punishment, forced to drink up the bowl of cream into which he had thrown me. neither was he ever restored to favour, for soon after the queen bestowed him to a lady of high quality, so that I saw him no more, to my very great satisfaction, for I could not tell to what extremity such a malicious urchin might have carried his resentment.

He had before served me a scurvy trick, which set the queen a-laughing, although at the same time she were heartily vexed, and would have immediately cashiered him, if I had not been so generous as to intercede. Her majesty had taken a marrow-bone upon her plate, and, after knocking 5 out the marrow, placed the bone again in the dish erect, as it stood before, the dwarf, watching his opportunity while Glumdalclitch was gone to the sideboard, mounted upon the stool she stood on to take care of me at meals, took me up in both hands, and squeezing my legs together, 10 wedged them into the marrow-bone above my waist, where I stuck for some time, and made a very ridiculous figure. I believe it was near a minute before any one knew what was become of me, for I thought it below me to cry out. But, as princes seldom get their meat hot, my legs were not 15 scalded, only my stockings and breeches in a sad condition. The dwarf, at my entreaty, had no other punishment than a sound whipping * * *

CHAPTER V

Several Adventures that happened to the Author

I SHOULD have lived happy enough in that country, if my littleness had not exposed me to several ridiculous and troublesome accidents, some of which I shall venture to relate. Glumdalclitch often carried me into the gardens of the court in my smaller box, and would sometimes take me out of it, and hold me in her hand, or set me down to walk. I remember, before the dwarf left the queen, he followed us 25 one day into those gardens, and my nurse having set me down, he and I being close together, near some dwarf apple trees, I must need shew my wit, by a silly allusion between him and the trees, which happens to hold in their language

as it doth in ours Whereupon the malicious rogue, watching his opportunity, when I was walking under one of them, shook it directly over my head, by which a dozen of apples, each of them near as large as a Bristol barrel, came tumbling about my ears, one of them hit me on the back as I chanced to stoop, and knocked me down flat on my face, but I received no other hurt, and the dwarf was pardoned at my desire, because I had given the provocation

Another day Glumdalclitch left me on a smooth grass-plot to divert myself, while she walked at some distance with her governess In the meantime, there suddenly fell such a violent shower of hail, that I was immediately, by the force of it, struck to the ground and when I was down, the hailstones gave me such cruel bangs all over the body, as if I had been pelted with tennis-balls, however, I made a shift to creep on all four, and shelter myself by lying flat on my face, on the lee-side of a border of lemon-thyme, but so bruised from head to foot, that I could not go abroad in ten days Neither is this at all to be wondered at, because nature in that country observing the same proportion through all her operations, a hailstone is near eighteen hundred times as large as one in Europe, which I can assert upon experience, having been so curious to weigh and measure them

But a more dangerous accident happened to me in the same garden, when my little nurse, believing she had put me in a secure place, (which I often entreated her to do, that I might enjoy my own thoughts,) and having left my box at home, to avoid the trouble of carrying it, went to another part of the garden with her governess and some ladies of her acquaintance While she was absent and out of hearing, a small white spaniel belonging to one of the chief gardeners, having got by accident into the garden, happened to range near the place where I lay: the dog

following the scent, came directly up, and taking me in his mouth, ran straight to his master, wagging his tail, and set me gently on the ground. By good fortune he had been so well taught, that I was carried between his teeth without the least hurt, or even tearing my clothes. But the poor gardener, who knew me well, and had a great kindness for me, was in a terrible fright. he gently took me up in both his hands, and asked me how I did, but I was so amazed and out of breath, that I could not speak a word. In a few minutes I came to myself, and he carried me safe to my little nurse, who by this time had returned to the place where she left me, and was in cruel agonies when I did not appear, nor answer when she called. She severely reprimanded the gardener on account of his dog. But the thing was hushed up, and never known at court, for the girl was afraid of the queen's anger, and truly, as to myself, I thought it would not be for my reputation, that such a story should go about.

This accident absolutely determined Glumdalclitch never to trust me abroad for the future out of her sight. I had been long afraid of this resolution, and therefore concealed from her some little unlucky adventures that happened in those times when I was left by myself. Once a kite hovering over the garden, made a stoop at me, and if I had not resolutely drawn my hanger, and run under a thick espalier, he would have certainly carried me away in his talons. Another time, walking to the top of a fresh mole-hill, I fell to my neck in the hole, through which that animal had cast up the earth, and coined some lie, not worth remembering, to excuse myself for spoiling my clothes. I likewise broke my right shin against the shell of a snail, which I happened to stumble over, as I was walking alone and thinking on poor England.

I cannot tell whether I were more pleased or mortified to observe, in those solitary walks, that the smaller birds did

not appear to be at all afraid of me, but would hop about within a yard distance, looking for worms and other food, with as much indifference and security as if no creature at all were near them I remember, a thrush had the confidence to snatch out of my hand, with his bill, a piece of cake that Glumdalclitch had just given me for my breakfast When I attempted to catch any of these birds, they would boldly turn against me, endeavouring to pick my fingers, which I durst not venture within their reach, and then they would turn back unconcerned, to hunt for worms or snails, as they did before But one day I took a thick cudgel, and threw it with all my strength so luckily at a linnet, that I knocked him down, and seizing him by the neck with both my hands, ran with him in triumph to my nurse However, the bird, who had only been stunned, recovering himself, gave me so many boxes with his wings on both sides of my head and body, though I held him at arm's length, and was out of the reach of his claws, that I was twenty times thinking to let him go. But I was soon relieved by one of our servants, who wrung off the bird's neck, and I had him next day for dinner, by the queen's command This linnet, as near as I can remember, seemed to be somewhat larger than an English swan * * *

But the greatest danger I ever underwent in that kingdom, was from a monkey, who belonged to one of the clerks of the kitchen Glumdalclitch had locked me up in her closet, while she went somewhere upon business, or a visit The weather being very warm, the closet-window was left open, as well as the windows and the door of my bigger box, in which I usually lived, because of its largeness and conveniency As I sat quietly meditating at my table, I heard something bounce in at the closet-window, and skip about from one side to the other, whereat although I was much alarmed, yet I ventured to look out, but not stirring

from my seat, and then I saw this frolicsome animal frisking and leaping up and down, till at last he came to my box, which he seemed to view with great pleasure and curiosity, peeping in at the door and every window. I retreated to the farther corner of my room, or box, but the monkey, looking in at every side, put me into such a fright, that I wanted presence of mind to conceal myself under the bed, as I might easily have done. After some time spent in peeping, grinning, and chattering, he at last espied me, and reaching one of his paws in at the door, as a cat does when she plays with a mouse, although I often shifted place to avoid him, he at length caught hold of the lappet of my coat, (which, being made of that country cloth, was very thick and strong,) and dragged me out. He took me up in his right fore-foot, and held me as a nurse does a child she is going to suckle, just as I have seen the same sort of creature do with a kitten in Europe, and when I offered to struggle, he squeezed me so hard, that I thought it more prudent to submit. I have good reason to believe, that he took me for a young one of his own species, by his often stroking my face very gently with his other paw. In these diversions he was interrupted by a noise at the closet-door, as if somebody were opening it, whereupon he suddenly leaped up to the window, at which he had come in, and thence upon the leads and gutters, walking upon three legs, and holding me in the fourth, till he clambered up to a roof that was next to ours. I heard Glumdalclitch give a shriek at the moment he was carrying me out. The poor girl was almost distracted, that quarter of the palace was all in an uproar, the servants ran for ladders, the monkey was seen by hundreds in the court, sitting upon the ridge of a building, holding me like a baby in one of his fore-paws, and feeding me with the other, by cramming into my mouth some victuals he had squeezed out of the bag on one side of his

chaps, and patting me when I would not eat , whereat many of the rabble below could not forbear laughing , neither do I think they justly ought to be blamed, for without question the sight was ridiculous enough to everybody but myself
5 Some of the people threw up stones, hoping to drive the monkey down , but this was strictly forbidden, or else, very probably, my brains had been dashed out

The ladders were now applied, and mounted by several men , which the monkey observing, and finding himself
10 almost encompassed, not being able to make speed enough with his three legs, let me drop on a ridge tile, and made his escape Here I sat for some time, three hundred yards from the ground, expecting every moment to be blown down by the wind, or to fall by my own giddiness, and come
15 tumbling over and over from the ridge to the eaves , but an honest lad, one of my nurse's footmen, climbed up, and, putting me into his breeches-pocket, brought me down safe * * *

CHAPTER VI

The King inquires into the State of Europe, which the Author relates to him The King's Observations thereon

* * * THE king, who, as I before observed, was a
20 prince of excellent understanding, would frequently order that I should be brought in my box, and set upon the table in his closet He would then command me to bring one of my chairs out of the box, and sit down within three yards distance upon the top of the cabinet, which brought me
25 almost to a level with his face In this manner I had several conversations with him I one day took the freedom to tell his majesty, that the contempt he discovered towards Europe, and the rest of the world, did not seem answerable to those excellent qualities of the mind he was

master of That reason did not extend itself with the bulk of the body, on the contrary, we observed in our country that the tallest persons were usually least provided with it That among other animals, bees and ants had the reputation of more industry, art, and sagacity, than many of the larger kinds And that, as inconsiderable as he took me to be, I hoped I might live to do his majesty some signal service The king heard me with attention, and began to conceive a much better opinion of me than he had ever before He desired I would give him as exact an account 10 of the government of England as I possibly could, because, as fond as princes commonly are of their own customs, (for so he conjectured of other monarchs by my former discourses,) he should be glad to hear of anything that might deserve imitation 15

Imagine with thyself, courteous reader, how often I then wished for the tongue of Demosthenes or Cicero, that might have enabled me to celebrate the praises of my own dear native country, in a style equal to its merits and felicity

I began my discourse by informing his majesty, that our 20 dominions consisted of two islands, which composed three mighty kingdoms, under one sovereign, besides our plantations in America I dwelt long upon the fertility of our soil, and the temperature of our climate I then spoke at large upon the constitution of an English parliament, partly 25 made up of an illustrious body, called the House of Peers, persons of the noblest blood, and of the most ancient and ample patrimonies I described that extraordinary care always taken of their education in arts and arms, to qualify them for being counsellors born to the king and kingdom, to 30 have a share in the legislature, to be members of the highest court of judicature, from whence there could be no appeal, and to be champions always ready for the defence of their prince and country, by their valour, conduct, and fidelity

That these were the ornament and bulwark of the kingdom worthy followers of their most renowned ancestors, whose honour had been the reward of their virtue, from which their posterity were never once known to degenerate To these
5 were joined several holy persons, as part of that assembly, under the title of bishops, whose peculiar business it is to take care of religion, and of those who instruct the people therein These were searched and sought out through the whole nation, by the prince and his wisest counsellors,
10 among such of the priesthood as were most deservedly distinguished by the sanctity of their lives, and the depth of their erudition, who were indeed the spiritual fathers of the clergy and the people

That the other part of the parliament consisted of an
15 assembly, called the House of Commons, who were all principal gentlemen, freely picked and culled out by the people themselves, for their great abilities and love of their country, to represent the wisdom of the whole nation And these two bodies make up the most august assembly in
20 Europe, to whom, in conjunction with the prince, the whole legislature is committed

I then descended to the courts of justice, over which, the judges, those venerable sages and interpreters of the law, presided, for determining the disputed rights and pro-
25 perties of men, as well as for the punishment of vice and protection of innocence I mentioned the prudent management of our treasury, the valour and achievements of our forces, by sea and land I computed the number of our people, by reckoning how many millions there might be of
30 each religious sect, or political party, among us I did not omit even our sports and pastimes, or any other particular which I thought might redound to the honour of my country And I finished all with a brief historical account of affairs and events in England for about an hundred years past

This conversation was not ended under five audiences, each of several hours, and the king heard the whole with great attention, frequently taking notes of what I spoke, as well as memorandums of several questions he intended to ask me

When I had put an end to these long discourses, his majesty, in a sixth audience, consulting his notes, proposed many doubts, queries, and objections, upon every article. He asked, What methods were used to cultivate the minds and bodies of our young nobility, and in what kind of business they commonly spent the first and teachable part of their lives. What course was taken to supply that assembly, when any noble family became extinct. What qualifications were necessary in those who are to be created new lords, whether the humour of the prince, a sum of money to a court lady, or a prime minister, or a design of strengthening a party opposite to the public interest, ever happened to be motives in those advancements. What share of knowledge these lords had in the laws of their country, and how they came by it, so as to enable them to decide the properties of their fellow-subjects in the last resort. Whether they were always so free from avarice, partialities, or want, that a bribe, or some other sinister view, could have no place among them. Whether those holy lords I spoke of were always promoted to that rank upon account of their knowledge in religious matters, and the sanctity of their lives, had never been compliers with the times, while they were common priests, or slavish prostitute chaplains to some nobleman, whose opinions they continued servilely to follow, after they were admitted into that assembly

He then desired to know, What arts were practised in electing those whom I called Commoners, whether a stranger, with a strong purse, might not influence the vulgar voters, to choose him before their own landlord, or the most

considerable gentleman in the neighbourhood How it came to pass, that people were so violently bent upon getting into this assembly, which I allowed to be a great trouble and expense, often to the ruin of their families, without any
5 salary or pension Because this appeared such an exalted strain of virtue and public spirit, that his majesty seemed to doubt it might possibly not be always sincere And he desired to know, Whether such zealous gentlemen could have any views of refunding themselves for the charges and
10 trouble they were at, by sacrificing the public good to the designs of a weak and vicious prince, in conjunction with a corrupted ministry He multiplied his questions, and sifted me thoroughly upon every part of this head, proposing numberless inquiries and objections, which I think it not
15 prudent or convenient to repeat

Upon what I said in relation to our courts of justice, his majesty desired to be satisfied in several points and this I was the better able to do, having been formerly almost ruined by a long suit in Chancery, which was decreed for
20 me with costs He asked, What time was usually spent in determining between right and wrong, and what degree of expense Whether advocates and orators had liberty to plead in causes manifestly known to be unjust, vexatious, or oppressive Whether party, in religion or politics, were
25 observed to be of any weight in the scale of justice Whether those pleading orators were persons educated in the general knowledge of equity, or only in provincial, national, and other local customs Whether they or their judges had any part in penning those laws, which they
30 assumed the liberty of interpreting and glossing upon at their pleasure Whether they had ever, at different times, pleaded for and against the same cause, and cited precedents to prove contrary opinions. Whether they were a rich or a poor Corporation Whether they received

any pecuniary reward for pleading, or delivering their opinions And, particularly, whether they were ever admitted as members in the lower senate

He fell next upon the management of our treasury, and said, He thought my memory had failed me, because I computed our taxes at about five or six millions a-year, and when I came to mention the issues, he found they sometimes amounted to more than double, for the notes he had taken were very particular in this point, because he hoped, as he told me, that the knowledge of our conduct might be useful to him, and he could not be deceived in his calculations But, if what I told him were true, he was still at a loss how a kingdom could run out of its estate, like a private person He asked me, Who were our creditors, and where we found money to pay them He wondered to hear me talk of such chargeable and expensive wars, That certainly we must be a quarrelsome people, or live among very bad neighbours, and that our generals must needs be richer than our kings He asked, What business we had out of our own islands, unless upon the score of trade, or treaty, or to defend the coasts with our fleet Above all, he was amazed to hear me talk of a mercenary standing army, in the midst of peace, and among a free people He said, If we were governed by our own consent, in the persons of our representatives, he could not imagine of whom we were afraid, or against whom we were to fight, and would hear my opinion, whether a private man's house might not better be defended by himself, his children, and family, than by half a dozen rascals, picked up at a venture in the streets for small wages, who might get an hundred times more by cutting their throats

He laughed at my odd kind of arithmetic (as he was pleased to call it) in reckoning the numbers of our people by a computation drawn from the several sects among us, in

religion and politics He said, He knew no reason why those who entertain opinions prejudicial to the public, should be obliged to change, or should not be obliged to conceal them And, as it was tyranny in any government to require
5 the first, so it was weakness not to enforce the second, for a man may be allowed to keep poisons in his closet, but not to vend them about for cordials

He observed, That, among the diversions of our nobility and gentry, I had mentioned gaming he desired to know,
10 at what age this entertainment was usually taken up, and when it was laid down, how much of their time it employed, whether it ever went so high as to affect their fortunes, whether mean, vicious, people by their dexterity in that art, might not arrive at great riches, and sometimes
15 keep our very nobles in dependence, as well as habituate them to vile companions, wholly take them from the improvement of their minds, and force them, by the losses they have received, to learn and practise that infamous dexterity upon others

20 He was perfectly astonished with the historical account I gave him of our affairs during the last century, protesting, It was only an heap of conspiracies, rebellions, murders, massacres, revolutions, banishments, the very worst effects that avarice, faction, hypocrisy, perfidiousness, cruelty,
25 rage, madness, hatred, envy, lust, malice, ambition, could produce

His majesty, in another audience, was at the pains to recapitulate the sum of all I had spoken, compared the questions he made with the answers I had given, then,
30 taking me into his hands, and stroking me gently, delivered himself in these words, which I shall never forget, nor the manner he spoke them in My little friend Gildrig, you have made a most admirable panegyric upon your country, you have clearly proved, that ignorance, idleness, and vice,

are the proper ingredients for qualifying a legislator, that laws are best explained, interpreted, and applied, by those whose interest and abilities lie in perverting, confounding, and eluding them. I observe among you some lines of an institution, which, in its original, might have been tolerable, but these half erased, and the rest wholly blurred and blotted by corruptions. It doth not appear, from all you have said, how any one virtue is required, towards the procurement of any one station among you, much less, that men are ennobled on account of their virtue, that priests are advanced for their piety or learning, soldiers for their conduct or valour, judges for their integrity, senators for the love of their country, or counsellors for their wisdom. As for yourself, continued the king, who have spent the greatest part of your life in travelling, I am well disposed to hope you may hitherto have escaped many vices of your country. But, by what I have gathered from your own relation, and the answers I have with much pains wringed and extorted from you, I cannot but conclude the bulk of your natives to be the most pernicious race of little odious vermin that nature ever suffered to crawl upon the surface of the earth.

CHAPTER VII

The Author's Love of his Country. He makes a Proposal of much Advantage to the King, which is rejected. The King's great Ignorance in Politics. The Learning of that Country very imperfect and confined.

NOTHING but an extreme love of truth could have hindered me from concealing this part of my story. It was in vain to discover my resentments, which were always turned into ridicule, and I was forced to rest with patience, while my noble and most beloved country was so injuriously treated. I am heartily sorry as any of my readers can possibly be,

that such an occasion was given but this prince happened to be so curious and inquisitive upon every particular, that it could not consist either with gratitude or good manners, to refuse giving him what satisfaction I was able Yet thus
5 much I may be allowed to say in my own vindication, that I artfully eluded many of his questions, and gave to every point a more favourable turn, by many degrees, than the strictness of truth would allow, for I have always borne that laudable partiality to my own country, which Dionysius
10 Halicarnassensis, with so much justice, recommends to an historian I would hide the frailties and deformities of my political mother, and place her virtues and beauties in the most advantageous light This was my sincere endeavour, in those many discourses I had with that mighty monarch,
15 although it unfortunately failed of success

But great allowances should be given to a king who lives wholly secluded from the rest of the world, and must, therefore, be altogether unacquainted with the manners and customs that most prevail in other nations the want of which
20 knowledge will ever produce many prejudices, and a certain narrowness of thinking, from which we, and the politer countries of Europe, are wholly exempted And it would be hard indeed, if so remote a prince's notions of virtue and vice were to be offered as a standard for all mankind

25 To confirm what I have now said, and farther to shew the miserable effects of a confined education, I shall here insert a passage which will hardly obtain belief In hopes to ingratiate myself farther into his majesty's favour, I told him of an invention, discovered between three and four
30 hundred years ago, to make a certain powder, into a heap of which, the smallest spark of fire falling, would kindle the whole in a moment, although it were as big as a mountain, and make it all fly up in the air together, with a noise and agitation greater than thunder That a proper quantity of

this powder, rammed into an hollow tube of brass or iron, according to its bigness, would drive a ball of iron or lead with such violence and speed, as nothing was able to sustain its force. That the largest balls, thus discharged, would not only destroy whole ranks of an army at once, but batter the strongest walls to the ground, sink down ships, with a thousand men in each, to the bottom of the sea, and when linked together by a chain, would cut through masts and rigging, divide hundreds of bodies in the middle, and lay all waste before them. That we often put this powder into 10 large, hollow balls of iron, and discharged them by an engine into some city we were besieging, which would rip up the pavements, tear the houses to pieces, burst, and throw splinters on every side, dashing out the brains of all who came near. That I knew the ingredients very well, which 15 were cheap and common, I understood the manner of compounding them, and could direct his workmen how to make those tubes, of a size proportionable to all other things in his majesty's kingdom, and the largest need not be above an hundred foot long, twenty or thirty of which tubes, charged 20 with the proper quantity of powder and balls, would batter down the walls of the strongest town in his dominions in a few hours, or destroy the whole metropolis, if ever it should pretend to dispute his absolute commands. This I humbly offered to his majesty, as a small tribute of acknowledgment, 25 in return of so many marks that I had received of his royal favour and protection.

The king was struck with horror at the description I had given of those terrible engines, and the proposal I had made. He was amazed how so impotent and grovelling 30 an insect as I, (these were his expressions,) could entertain such inhuman ideas, and in so familiar a manner, as to appear wholly unmoved at all the scenes of blood and desolation which I had painted as the common effects of those

destructive machines , whereof, he said, some evil genius, enemy to mankind, must have been the first contriver As for himself, he protested, that although few things delighted him so much as new discoveries in art or in nature, yet he
5 would rather lose half his kingdom than be privy to such a secret , which he commanded me, as I valued my life, never to mention any more

A strange effect of narrow principles and short views ! that a prince, possessed of every quality which procures veneration,
10 love, and esteem , of strong parts, great wisdom, and profound learning, endued with admirable talents for government, and almost adored by his subjects, should, from a nice, unnecessary scruple, whereof in Europe we can have no conception, let slip an opportunity put into his hands, that would
15 have made him absolute master of the lives, the liberties, and the fortunes of his people Neither do I say this with the least intention to detract from the many virtues of that excellent king, whose character I am sensible will on this account be very much lessened in the opinion of an English reader ,
20 but, I take this defect among them to have risen from their ignorance, they not having hitherto reduced politics into a science, as the more acute wits of Europe have done For, I remember very well, in a discourse one day with the king, when I happened to say there were several thousand books
25 among us written upon the art of government, it gave him (directly contrary to my intention) a very mean opinion of our understandings He professed both to abominate and despise all mystery, refinement, and intrigue, either in a prince or a minister He could not tell what I meant by
30 secrets of state, where an enemy, or some rival nation, were not in the case He confined the knowledge of governing within very narrow bounds, to common sense and reason, to justice and lenity, to the speedy determination of civil and criminal causes , with some other obvious topics, which are

not worth considering And he gave it for his opinion
That whoever could make two ears of corn, or two blades
of grass, to grow upon a spot of ground where only one grew
before, would deserve better of mankind, and do more essen-
tial service to his country, than the whole race of politicians
put together

The learning of this people is very defective, consisting
only in morality, history, poetry, and mathematics wherein
they must be allowed to excel But the last of these is
wholly applied to what may be useful in life to the improve-
ment of agriculture, and all mechanical arts, so that among
us, it would be little esteemed And as to ideas, entities,
abstractions, and transcendentals, I could never drive the
least conception into their heads

No law of that country must exceed in words the number
of letters in their alphabet, which consists only in two-and-
twenty But indeed, few of them extend even to that
length They are expressed in the most plain and simple
terms, wherein those people are not mercurial enough to
discover above one interpretation, and to write a comment
upon any law is a capital crime As to the decision of civil
causes, or proceedings against criminals, their precedents
are so few, that they have little reason to boast of any
extraordinary skill in either

They have had the art of printing, as well as the Chinese,
time out of mind But their libraries are not very large,
for that of the king's, which is reckoned the biggest, doth not
amount to above a thousand volumes, placed in a gallery of
twelve hundred foot long, from whence I had liberty to borrow
what books I pleased The queen's joiner had contrived,
in one of Glumdalclitch's rooms, a kind of wooden machine,
five-and-twenty foot high, formed like a standing ladder,
the steps were each fifty foot long It was indeed a move-
able pair of stairs, the lowest end placed at ten foot distance

from the wall of the chamber The book I had a mind to read was put up leaning against the wall, I first mounted to the upper step of the ladder, and turning my face towards the book, began at the top of the page, and so walking to the
5 right and left about eight or ten paces, according to the length of the lines, till I had gotten a little below the level of my eyes, and then descending gradually till I came to the bottom, after which I mounted again, and began the other page in the same manner, and so turned over the leaf,
10 which I could easily do with both my hands, for it was as thick and stiff as a pasteboard, and in the largest folios not above eighteen or twenty foot long

Their style is clear, masculine, and smooth, but not florid, for they avoid nothing more than multiplying unnecessary
15 words, or using various expressions I have perused many of their books, especially those in history and morality Among the rest, I was much diverted with a little old treatise, which always lay in Glumdalclitch's bed-chamber, and belonged to her governess, a grave elderly gentle-
20 woman, who dealt in writings of morality and devotion The book treats of the weakness of human kind, and is in little esteem, except among the women and the vulgar However, I was curious to see what an author of that country could say upon such a subject This writer went
25 through all the usual topics of European moralists, shewing, how diminutive, contemptible, and helpless an animal was man in his own nature, how unable to defend himself from the inclemencies of the air, or the fury of wild beasts How much he was excelled by one creature in strength, by
30 another in speed, by a third in foresight, by a fourth in industry. He added, that nature was degenerated in these latter declining ages of the world, and could now produce only small abortive births, in comparison of those in ancient times He said, it was very reasonable to

think, not only that the species of man were originally much larger, but also that there must have been giants in former ages, which, as it is asserted by history and tradition, so it hath been confirmed by huge bones and skulls, casually dug up in several parts of the kingdom, far exceeding the common dwindled race of man in our days. He argued, that the very laws of nature absolutely required we should have been made, in the beginning, of a size more large and robust, not so liable to destruction from every little accident of a tile falling from a house, or a stone cast from the hand of a boy, or of being drowned in a little brook. From this way of reasoning, the author drew several moral applications, useful in the conduct of life, but needless here to repeat. For my own part, I could not avoid reflecting how universally this talent was spread, of drawing lectures in morality, or indeed rather matter of discontent and repining, from the quarrels we raise with nature. And I believe upon a strict inquiry, those quarrels might be shewn as ill-grounded among us as they are among that people. * * *

CHAPTER VIII.

The King and Queen make a progress to the Frontiers. The Author attends them. The Manner in which he leaves the Country very particularly related. He returns to England.

I HAD always a strong impulse, that I should some time recover my liberty, though it was impossible to conjecture by what means, or to form any project with the least hope of succeeding. The ship in which I sailed was the first ever known to be driven within sight of that coast, and the king had given strict orders, that if at any time another appeared, it should be taken ashore, and, with all its crew and passengers, brought in a tumbrel to Lorbrulgrud. He was

strongly bent to get me a woman of my own size, by whom I might propagate the breed, but I think I should rather have died than undergone the disgrace of leaving a posterity to be kept in cages, like tame canary birds, and perhaps, in time, sold about the kingdom, to persons of quality, for curiosities. I was indeed treated with much kindness, I was the favourite of a great king and queen, and the delight of the whole court, but it was upon such a foot as ill became the dignity of human kind. I could never
10 forget those domestic pledges I had left behind me. I wanted to be among people with whom I could converse upon even terms, and walk about the streets and fields without fear of being trod to death like a frog or a young puppy. But my deliverance came sooner than I expected,
15 and in a manner not very common, the whole story and circumstances of which I shall faithfully relate

I had now been two years in this country, and about the beginning of the third, Glumdalclitch and I attended the king and queen, in a progress to the south coast of the
20 kingdom. I was carried, as usual, in my travelling box, which, as I have already described, was a very convenient closet, of twelve foot wide. And I had ordered a hammock to be fixed, by silken ropes, from the four corners at the top, to break the jolts, when a servant carried me before
25 him on horseback, as I sometimes desired, and would often sleep in my hammock, while we were upon the road. On the roof of my closet, just over the middle of the hammock, I ordered the joiner to cut out a hole of a foot square, to give me air in hot weather as I slept, which hole
30 I shut at pleasure with a board that drew backwards and forwards through a groove

When we came to our journey's end, the king thought proper to pass a few days at a palace he hath near Flanflasnic, a city within eighteen English miles of the seaside.

Glumdalclitch and I were much fatigued. I had gotten a small cold, but the poor girl was so ill as to be confined to her chamber. I longed to see the ocean, which must be the only scene of my escape, if ever it should happen. I pretended to be worse than I really was, and desired leave to take the fresh air of the sea, with a page whom I was very fond of, and who had sometimes been trusted with me. I shall never forget with what unwillingness Glumdalclitch consented, nor the strict charge she gave the page to be careful of me, bursting at the same time into a flood of tears, as if she had some foreboding of what was to happen. The boy took me out in my box, about half an hour's walk from the palace, towards the rocks on the sea-shore. I ordered him to set me down, and lifting up one of my sashes, cast many a wistful melancholy look towards the sea. I found myself not very well, and told the page that I had a mind to take a nap in my hammock, which I hoped would do me good. I got in, and the boy shut the window close down, to keep out the cold. I soon fell asleep, and all I can conjecture is, that while I slept, the page thinking no danger could happen, went among the rocks to look for birds' eggs, having before observed him from my window searching about and picking up one or two in the clefts. Be that as it will, I found myself suddenly awaked with a violent pull upon the ring, which was fastened at the top of my box for the conveniency of carriage. I felt my box raised very high in the air, and then borne forward with prodigious speed. The first jolt had like to have shaken me out of my hammock, but afterwards the motion was easy enough. I called out several times, as loud as I could raise my voice, but all to no purpose. I looked towards my windows, and could see nothing but the clouds and sky. I heard a noise just over my head, like the clapping of wings, and then began to perceive the woful condition I was in,

that some eagle had got the ring of my box in his beak, with an intent to let it fall on a rock like a tortoise in a shell, and then pick out my body and devour it for the sagacity and smell of this bird enable him to discover his quarry at a
5 great distance, though better concealed than I could be within a two-inch board

In a little time, I observed the noise and flutter of wings to increase very fast, and my box was tossed up and down like a sign-post in a windy day I heard several bangs or buffets,
10 as I thought, given to the eagle, (for such I am certain it must have been that held the ring of my box in his beak,) and then all on a sudden, felt myself falling perpendicularly down for above a minute, but with such incredible swiftness that I almost lost my breath. My fall was stopped by
15 a terrible squash that sounded louder to my ears than the cataract of Niagara, after which I was quite in the dark for another minute, and then my box began to rise so high, that I could see light from the tops of my windows I now perceived that I was fallen into the sea My box, by the weight
20 of my body, the goods that were in, and the broad plates of iron fixed for strength at the four corners of the top and bottom, floated about five foot deep in water I did then, and do now suppose, that the eagle which flew away with my box, was pursued by two or three others, and forced to let
25 me drop, while he was defending himself against the rest, who hoped to share in the prey. The plates of iron fastened at the bottom of the box (for those were the strongest) preserved the balance while it fell, and hindered it from being broken on the surface of the water Every joint of it was
30 well grooved, and the door did not move on hinges, but up and down like a sash, which kept my closet so tight, that very little water came in I got with much difficulty out of my hammock, having first ventured to draw back the ship-board on the roof already mentioned, contrived on purpose

to let in air, for want of which I found myself almost stifled

How often did I then wish myself with my dear Glumdalclitch, from whom one single hour had so far divided me ! And I may say with truth, that in the midst of my own 5 misfortunes, I could not forbear lamenting my poor nurse, the grief she would suffer for my loss, the displeasure of the queen, and the ruin of her fortune. Perhaps many travellers have not been under greater difficulties and distress than I was at this juncture, expecting every moment to see 10 my box dashed in pieces, or at least overset by the first violent blast, or a rising wave. A breach in one single pane of glass would have been immediate death : nor could anything have preserved the windows, but the strong lattice wires placed on the outside, against accidents in travelling 15 I saw the water ooze in at several crannies, although the leaks were not considerable, and I endeavoured to stop them as well as I could. I was not able to lift up the roof of my closet, which otherwise I certainly should have done, and sat on the top of it, where I might at least preserve 20 myself some hours longer, than by being shut up (as I may call it) in the hold. Or, if I escaped these dangers for a day or two, what could I expect but a miserable death of cold and hunger ! I was four hours under these circumstances, expecting, and indeed wishing, every moment to be my last 25

I have already told the reader, that there were two strong staples fixed upon that side of my box which had no window, and into which the servant who used to carry me on horse-back, would put a leathern belt, and buckle it about his waist. Being in this disconsolate state, I heard, or at least 30 thought I heard, some kind of grating noise on that side of my box where the staples were fixed ; and soon after I began to fancy, that the box was pulled or towed along in the sea, for I now and then felt a sort of tugging, which made the

waves rise near the tops of my windows, leaving me almost in the dark. This gave me some faint hopes of relief, although I was not able to imagine how it could be brought about. I ventured to unscrew one of my chairs, which were
5 always fastened to the floor, and having made a hard shift to screw it down again, directly under the slipping-board that I had lately opened, I mounted on the chair, and, putting my mouth as near as I could to the hole, I called for help in a loud voice, and in all the languages I under-
10 stood. I then fastened my handkerchief to a stick I usually carried, and thrusting it up the hole, waved it several times in the air, that if any boat or ship were near, the seamen might conjecture some unhappy mortal to be shut up in this box.

15 I found no effect from all I could do, but plainly perceived my closet to be moved along, and in the space of an hour, or better, that side of the box where the staples were, and had no window, struck against something that was hard. I apprehended it to be a rock, and found myself tossed
20 more than ever. I plainly heard a noise upon the cover of my closet, like that of a cable, and the grating of it as it passed through the ring. I then found myself hoisted up by degrees at least three foot higher than I was before. Whereupon I again thrust up my stick and handkerchief, calling
25 for help till I was almost hoarse. In return to which, I heard a great shout repeated three times, giving me such transports of joy as are not to be conceived but by those who feel them. I now heard a trampling over my head, and somebody calling through the hole with a loud voice,
30 in the English tongue, If there be anybody below, let them speak. I answered, I was an Englishman, drawn by ill fortune into the greatest calamity that ever any creature underwent, and begged, by all that was moving, to be delivered out of the dungeon I was in. The voice replied, I

was safe, for my box was fastened to their ship, and the carpenter should immediately come and saw an hole in the cover, large enough to pull me out. I answered, that was needless, and would take up too much time, for there was no more to be done, but let one of the crew put his finger ⁵ into the ring, and take the box out of the sea into the ship, and so into the captain's cabin. Some of them, upon hearing me talk so wildly, thought I was mad, others laughed, for indeed it never came into my head, that I was now got among people of my own stature and strength. The car- ¹⁰ penter came, and in a few minutes sawed a passage about four foot square, then let down a small ladder, upon which I mounted, and thence was taken into the ship in a very weak condition.

The sailors were all in amazement, and asked me a thou- ¹⁵ sand questions, which I had no inclination to answer. I was equally confounded at the sight of so many pigmies, for such I took them to 'be, after having so long accustomed mine eyes to the monstrous objects I had left. But the captain, Mr Thomas Wilcocks, an honest worthy Shrop- ²⁰ shire man, observing I was ready to faint, took me into his cabin, gave me a cordial to comfort me, and made me turn in upon his own bed, advising me to take a little rest, of which I had great need. Before I went to sleep, I gave him to understand, that I had some valuable furniture in ²⁵ my box, too good to be lost, a fine hammock, a handsome field-bed, two chairs, a table, and a cabinet. That my closet was hung on all sides, or rather quilted, with silk and cotton that, if he would let one of the crew bring my closet into his cabin, I would open it there before him, and shew ³⁰ him my goods. The captain, hearing me utter these absurdities, concluded I was raving however, (I suppose to pacify me,) he promised to give order as I desired, and going upon deck, sent some of his men down into my

closet, whence, (as I afterwards found,) they drew up all my goods, and stripped off the quilting, but the chairs, cabinet, and bedstead, being screwed to the floor, were much damaged by the ignorance of the seamen, who tore them up
5 by force Then they knocked off some of the boards for the use of the ship, and when they had got all they had a mind for, let the hulk drop into the sea, which, by reason of many breaches made in the bottom and sides, sunk to rights And indeed I was glad not to have been a spectator of the
10 havoc they made, because I am confident it would have sensibly touched me, by bringing former passages into my mind, which I had rather forget

I slept some hours, but perpetually disturbed with dreams of the place I had left, and the dangers I had escaped
15 However, upon waking, I found myself much recovered It was now about eight o'clock at night, and the captain ordered supper immediately, thinking I had already fasted too long He entertained me with great kindness, observing me not to look wildly, or talk inconsistently, and when we were left
20 alone, desired I would give him a relation of my travels, and by what accident I came to be set adrift in that monstrous wooden chest He said, That about twelve o'clock at noon, as he was looking through his glass, he spied it at a distance, and thought it was a sail, which he had a mind
25 to make, being not much out of his course, in hopes of buying some biscuit, his own beginning to fall short That, upon coming nearer, and finding his error, he sent out his long-boat to discover what I was, that his men came back in a fright, swearing they had seen a swimming house That
30 he laughed at their folly, and went himself in the boat, ordering his men to take a strong cable along with them That the weather being calm, he rowed round me several times, observed my windows, and wire lattices that defended them. That he discovered two staples upon one side, which

was all of boards, without any passage for light. He then commanded his men to row up to that side, and fastening a cable to one of the staples, ordered them to tow my chest, as he called it, towards the ship. When it was there, he gave directions to fasten another cable to the ring fixed in the cover, and to raise up my chest with pulleys, which all the sailors were not able to do above two or three foot. He said, they saw my stick and handkerchief thrust out of the hole, and concluded that some unhappy men must be shut up in the cavity. I asked, Whether he or the crew had seen any prodigious birds in the air, about the time he first discovered me. To which he answered, That discoursing this matter with the sailors while I was asleep, one of them said, he had observed three eagles flying towards the north, but remarked nothing of their being larger than the usual size, which I suppose must be imputed to the great height they were at, and he could not guess the reason of my question. I then asked the captain, How far he reckoned we might be from land. He said, By the best computation he could make, we were at least an hundred leagues. I assured him, That he must be mistaken by almost half, for I had not left the country whence I came above two hours before I dropped into the sea. Whereupon, he began again to think that my brain was disturbed, of which he gave me a hint, and advised me to go to bed in a cabin he had provided. I assured him, I was well refreshed with his good entertainment and company, and as much in my senses as ever I was in my life. He then grew serious, and desired to ask me freely, Whether I were not troubled in my mind by the consciousness of some enormous crime, for which I was punished, at the command of some prince, by exposing me in that chest, as great criminals, in other countries, have been forced to sea in a leaky vessel, without provisions for, although he should be sorry to have taken

so ill a man into his ship, yet, he would engage his word to set me safe on shore, in the first port where we arrived. He added, That his suspicions were much increased, by some very absurd speeches I had delivered at first to the
5 sailors, and afterwards to himself, in relation to my closet or chest, as well as by my odd looks and behaviour, while I was at supper

I begged his patience to hear me tell my story, which I faithfully did, from the last time I left England, to the
10 moment he first discovered me. And, as truth always forceth its way into rational minds, so this honest, worthy gentleman, who had some tincture of learning, and very good sense, was immediately convinced of my candour and veracity. But further, to confirm all I had said, I entreated
15 him to give order that my cabinet should be brought, of which I had the key in my pocket, for he had already informed me how the seamen had disposed of my closet. I opened it in his presence, and shewed him the small collection of rarities I made in the country from which I had
20 been so strangely delivered. There was the comb I had contrived out of the stumps of the king's beard, and another of the same materials, but fixed into a paring of her majesty's thumb-nail, which served for the back. There was a collection of needles and pins, from a foot to half a yard
25 long, four wasp stings, like joiners' tacks, some combings of the queen's hair, a gold ring, which one day she made me a present of, in a most obliging manner, taking it from her little finger, and throwing it over my head like a collar. I desired the captain would please to accept this
30 ring in return of his civilities, which he absolutely refused. I shewed him a corn that I had cut off, with my own hand, from a maid of honour's toe, it was about the bigness of a Kentish pippin, and grown so hard, that, when I returned to England, I got it hollowed

into a cup, and set in silver. Lastly, I desired him to see the breeches I had then on, which were made of a mouse's skin.

I could force nothing on him but a footman's tooth, which I observed him to examine with great curiosity, and found he had a fancy for it. He received it with abundance of thanks, more than such a trifle could deserve. It was drawn by an unskilful surgeon in a mistake from one of Glumdalclitch's men, who was afflicted with the toothach, but it was as sound as any in his head. I got it cleaned, and put it into my cabinet. It was about a foot long, and four inches in diameter.

The captain was very well satisfied with this plain relation I had given him, and said, He hoped, when we returned to England, I would oblige the world by putting it on paper, and making it public. My answer was, That I thought we were already overstocked with books of travels, that nothing could now pass which was not extraordinary, wherein I doubted some authors less consulted truth than their own vanity, or interest, or the diversion of ignorant readers. That my story could contain little besides common events, without those ornamental descriptions of strange plants, trees, birds, and other animals, or of the barbarous customs and idolatry of savage people, with which most writers abound. However, I thanked him for his good opinion, and promised to take the matter into my thoughts.

He said, He wondered at one thing very much, which was, to hear me speak so loud, asking me, Whether the king or queen of that country were thick of hearing. I told him, It was what I had been used to for above two years past, and that I admired as much at the voices of him and his men, who seemed to me only to whisper, and yet I could hear them well enough. But, when I spoke in that country, it was like a man talking in the street to another

looking out from the top of a steeple, unless when I was placed on a table, or held in any person's hand. I told him, I had likewise observed another thing, that, when I first got into the ship, and the sailors stood all about me, 5 I thought they were the most little contemptible creatures I had ever beheld. For, indeed, while I was in that prince's country, I could never endure to look in a glass after my eyes had been accustomed to such prodigious objects, because the comparison gave me so despicable 10 a conceit of myself. The captain said, That, while we were at supper, he observed me to look at everything with a sort of wonder, and, that I often seemed hardly able to contain my laughter, which he knew not well how to take, but imputed it to some disorder in my brain. I answered, 15 It was very true, and I wondered how I could forbear, when I saw his dishes of the size of a silver three-pence, a leg of pork hardly a mouthful, a cup not so big as a nut-shell, and so I went on, describing the rest of his household-stuff and provisions, after the same manner. For 20 although the queen had ordered a little equipage of all things necessary for me while I was in her service, yet my ideas were wholly taken up with what I saw on every side of me, and I winked at my own littleness, as people do at their own faults. The captain understood my raillery very well, 25 and merrily replied with the old English proverb, That he doubted my eyes were bigger than my belly, for he did not observe my stomach so good, although I had fasted all day, and, continuing in his mirth, protested, He would have gladly given an hundred pounds, to have seen my 30 closet in the eagle's bill, and afterwards in its fall from so great an height into the sea; which would certainly have been a most astonishing object, worthy to have the description of it transmitted to future ages. and the comparison of Phaeton was so obvious, that he could not

forbear applying it, although I did not much admire the conceit

The captain, having been at Tonquin, was in his return to England, driven north-eastward to the latitude of 44 degrees, and of longitude 143 But meeting a trade-wind two days 5 after I came on board him, we sailed southward a long time, and coasting New-Holland, kept our course west-south-west, and then south-south-west, till we doubled the Cape of Good Hope Our voyage was very prosperous, but I shall not trouble the reader with a journal of it The captain called in at 10 one or two ports, and sent in his long-boat for provisions and fresh water, but I never went out of the ship till we came into the Downs, which was on the third day of June, 1706, about nine months after my escape I offered to leave my goods in security for payment of my freight, but the captain pro- 15 tested he would not receive one farthing We took kind leave of each other, and I made him promise he would come to see me at my house in Redriff I hired a horse and guide for five shillings, which I borrowed of the captain

As I was on the road, observing the littleness of the 20 houses, the trees, the cattle, and the people, I began to think myself in Lilliput I was afraid of trampling on every traveller I met, and often called aloud to have them stand out of the way, so that I had like to have gotten one or two broken heads for my impertinence

25 When I came to my own house, for which I was forced to inquire, one of the servants opening the door, I bent down to go in, (like a goose under a gate,) for fear of striking my head My wife ran out to embrace me, but I stooped lower than her knees, thinking she could otherwise never be able to 30 reach my mouth. My daughter kneeled to ask my blessing, but I could not see her till she arose, having been so long used to stand with my head and eyes erect to above sixty foot, and then I went to take her up with one hand by the

waist I looked down upon the servants, and one or two friends who were in the house, as if they had been pigmies and I a giant I told my wife, She had been too thrifty, for I found she had starved herself and her daughter to nothing
5 In short, I behaved myself so unaccountably, that they were all of the captain's opinion when he first saw me, and concluded I had lost my wits This I mention as an instance of the great power of habit and prejudice

In a little time, I and my family and friends came to
10 a right understanding, but my wife protested, I should never go to sea any more, although my evil destiny so ordered, that she had not power to hinder me, as the reader may know hereafter In the meantime, I here conclude the second part of my unfortunate voyages

PART III

A VOYAGE TO LAPUTA, BALNIBARBI, GLUBBDUBDRIB, LUGGNAGG, AND JAPAN.

CHAPTER I

The Author sets out on his Third Voyage Is taken by Pirates
The Malice of a Dutchman His Arrival at an Island. He is re-
ceived into Laputa.

I HAD not been at home above ten days, when Captain William Robinson, a Cornish man, commander of the Hopewell, a stout ship of three hundred tons, came to my house I had formerly been surgeon of another ship, where he was master and a fourth part owner, in a voyage 5 to the Levant He had always treated me more like a brother than an inferior officer, and, hearing of my arrival, made me a visit, as I apprehended, only out of friendship, for nothing passed more than what is usual after long absences But, repeating his visits often, expressing his joy to find me 10 in good health, asking, Whether I were now settled for life Adding, That he intended a voyage to the East Indies in two months, at last he plainly invited me, though with some apologies, to be surgeon of the ship, That I should have another surgeon under me, besides our two 15 mates, that my salary should be double to the usual pay, and that, having experienced my knowledge in sea-affairs to be at least equal to his, he would enter into any engagement to follow my advice, as much as if I had shared in the command

He said so many other obliging things, and I knew him to be so honest a man, that I could not reject his proposal, the thirst I had of seeing the world, notwithstanding my past misfortunes, continuing as violent as ever. The only
5 difficulty that remained, was to persuade my wife, whose consent, however, I at last obtained, by the prospect of advantage she proposed to her children

We set out the 5th day of August, 1706, and arrived at Fort St George the 11th of April, 1707. We staid there three
10 weeks to refresh our crew, many of whom were sick. From thence we went to Tonquin, where the captain resolved to continue some time, because many of the goods he intended to buy were not ready, nor could he expect to be dispatched in some months. Therefore, in hopes to defray some of
15 the charges he must be at, he bought a sloop, loaded it with several sorts of goods, wherewith the Tonquinese usually trade to the neighbouring islands, and putting fourteen men on board, whereof three were of the country, he appointed me master of the sloop, and gave me power to traffic for
20 two months, while he transacted his affairs at Tonquin

We had not sailed above three days, when, a great storm arising, we were driven five days to the north-north-east, and then to the east, after which we had fair weather, but still with a pretty strong gale from the west. Upon the tenth
25 day we were chased by two pirates, who soon overtook us, for my sloop was so deep laden, that she sailed very slow, neither were we in a condition to defend ourselves

We were boarded about the same time by both the pirates, who entered furiously at the head of their men, but, finding
30 us all prostrate upon our faces, (for so I gave order,) they pinioned us with strong ropes, and, setting a guard upon us, went to search the sloop.

I observed among them a Dutchman, who seemed to be of some authority, though he was not commander of

either ship He knew us by our countenances to be Englishmen, and, jabbering to us in his own language, swore we should be tied back to back, and thrown into the sea I spoke Dutch tolerably well, I told him who we were, and begged him in consideration of our being Christians and 5 Protestants, of neighbouring countries in strict alliance, that he would move the captains to take some pity on us This inflamed his rage, he repeated his threatenings, and turning to his companions, spoke with great vehemence in the Japanese language, as I suppose, often using the word *Christianos* 10

The largest of the two pirate ships was commanded by a Japanese captain, who spoke a little Dutch, but very imperfectly He came up to me, and, after several questions, which I answered in great humility, he said, We should not die I made the captain a very low bow, and then, 15 turning to the Dutchman, said, I was sorry to find more mercy in a Heathen than in a brother Christian But I had soon reason to repent those foolish words, for that malicious reprobate, having often endeavoured in vain to persuade both the captains that I might be thrown into the sea, 20 (which they would not yield to, after the promise made me that I should not die,) however, prevailed so far, as to have a punishment inflicted on me, worse, in all human appearance, than death itself My men were sent by an equal division into both the pirate ships, and my sloop new 25 manned As to myself, it was determined that I should be set adrift in a small canoe, with paddles and a sail, and four day's provisions, which last, the Japanese captain was so kind to double out of his own stores, and would permit no man to search me I got down into the canoe, while the 30 Dutchman, standing upon the deck, loaded me with all the curses and injurious terms his language could afford

About an hour before we saw the pirates, I had taken an observation, and found we were in the latitude of 46 N and

of longitude 183 When I was at some distance from the pirates, I discovered, by my pocket-glass, several islands to the south-east I set up my sail, the wind being fair, with a design to reach the nearest of those islands, which I made
5 a shift to do in about three hours * * * But, not to trouble the reader with a particular account of my distresses, let it suffice, that on the fifth day I arrived at the last island in my sight, which lay south-south-east to the former

This island was at a greater distance than I expected, and
10 I did not reach it in less than five hours I encompassed it almost round, before I could find a convenient place to land in, which was a small creek, about three times the wideness of my canoe I found the island to be all rocky, only a little intermingled with tufts of grass, and
15 sweet-smelling herbs I took out my small provisions, and, after having refreshed myself, I secured the remainder in a cave, whereof there were great numbers, I gathered plenty of eggs upon the rocks, and got a quantity of dry sea-weed and parched grass, which I designed to kindle the next day,
20 and roast my eggs as well as I could, for I had about me my flint, steel, match, and burning-glass I lay all night in the cave where I had lodged my provisions My bed was the same dry grass and sea-weed which I intended for fuel I slept very little, for the disquiets of my mind prevailed
25 over my weariness, and kept me awake I considered how impossible it was to preserve my life in so desolate a place, and how miserable my end must be yet found myself so listless and desponding, that I had not the heart to rise. and before I could get spirits enough to creep out of my cave, the day
30 was far advanced I walked a while among the rocks the sky was perfectly clear and the sun so hot that I was forced to turn my face from it; when, all on a sudden, it became obscured, as I thought, in a manner very different from what happens by the interposition of a cloud I turned back,

and perceived a vast opaque body between me and the sun, moving forwards towards the island it seemed to be about two miles high, and hid the sun six or seven minutes, but I did not observe the air to be much colder, or the sky more darkened, than if I had stood under the shade of a mountain 5
As it approached nearer over the place where I was, it appeared to be a firm substance, the bottom flat, smooth, and shining very bright, from the reflection of the sea below I stood upon a height about two hundred yards from the shore, and saw this vast body descending almost to a parallel 10 with me, at less than an English mile distance I took out my pocket perspective, and could plainly discover numbers of people moving up and down the sides of it, which appeared to be sloping, but what those people were doing, I was not able to distinguish * * *

15
Soon after, it advanced nearer, and I could see the sides of it encompassed with several gradations of galleries, and stairs, at certain intervals, to descend from one to the other In the lowest gallery, I beheld some people fishing with long angling rods, and others looking on I waved my cap (for 20 my hat was long since worn out) and my handkerchief towards the island, and upon its nearer approach, I called and shouted with the utmost strength of my voice, and then looking circumspectly, I beheld a crowd gathered to that side which was most in my view I found by their pointing 25 towards me and to each other, that they plainly discovered me, although they made no return to my shouting But I could see four or five men running in great haste up the stairs to the top of the island, who then disappeared I happened rightly to conjecture, that these were sent for 30 orders, to some person in authority upon this occasion

The number of people increased, and in less than half an hour, the island was moved and raised in such a manner, that the lowest gallery appeared in a parallel of less than an

hundred yards distance from the height where I stood I then put myself into the most supplicating postures, and spoke in the humblest accent, but received no answer Those who stood nearest over against me seemed to be persons of
5 distinction, as I supposed by their habit They conferred earnestly with each other, looking often upon me At length, one of them called out in a clear, polite, smooth dialect, not unlike in sound to the Italian, and, therefore, I returned an answer in that language, hoping, at least, that
10 the cadence might be more agreeable to his ears Although neither of us understood the other, yet my meaning was easily known, for the people saw the distress I was in

They made signs for me to come down from the rock, and go towards the shore, which I accordingly did, and
15 the flying island being raised to a convenient height, the verge directly over me, a chain was let down from the lowest gallery, with a seat fastened to the bottom, to which I fixed myself, and was drawn up by pulleys

CHAPTER II

The Humours and Dispositions of the Laputians described An Account of their Learning Of the King and his Court The Author's Reception there The Inhabitants subject to Fears and Disquietudes

At my alighting, I was surrounded by a crowd of
20 people, but those who stood nearest seemed to be of better quality They beheld me with all the marks and circumstances of wonder, neither, indeed, was I much in their debt, having never till then seen a race of mortals so singular in their shapes, habits, and countenances Their
25 heads were all reclined, either to the right or the left, one of their eyes turned inward, and the other directly up to the

zenith Their outward garments were adorned with the figures of suns, moons, and stars, interwoven with those of fiddles, flutes, harps, trumpets, guitars, harpsichords, and many more instruments of music, unknown to us in Europe I observed, here and there, many in the habit of servants, 5 with a blown bladder, fastened like a flail to the end of a short stick, which they carried in their hands In each bladder was a small quantity of dried pease or little pebbles, as I was afterwards informed With these bladders they now and then flapped the mouths and ears of those who stood near them, of 10 which practice I could not then conceive the meaning It seems the minds of these people are so taken up with intense speculations, that they neither can speak, nor attend to the discourses of others, without being roused by some external taction upon the organs of speech and hearing, for which 15 reason, those persons who are able to afford it, always keep a flapper, (the original is *climenole*,) in their family, as one of their domestics, nor ever walk abroad, or make visits, without him And the business of this officer is, when two, three, or more persons are in company, gently to strike 20 with his bladder the mouth of him who is to speak, and the right ear of him or them to whom the speaker addresses himself This flapper is likewise employed diligently to attend his master in his walks, and upon occasion to give him a soft flap on his eyes, because he is always so wrapped 25 up in cogitation, that he is in manifest danger of falling down every precipice, and bouncing his head against every post, and in the streets, of justling others, or being justled himself into the kennel

It was necessary to give the reader this information, 30 without which he would be at the same loss with me to understand the proceedings of these people, as they conducted me up the stairs to the top of the island, and from thence to the royal palace While we were ascending, they

forgot several times what they were about, and left me to myself, till their memories were again roused by their flappers, for they appeared altogether unmoved by the sight of my foreign habit and countenance, and by the shouts
5 of the vulgar, whose thoughts and minds were more disengaged

At last we entered the palace, and proceeded into the chamber of presence, where I saw the king seated on his throne, attended on each side by persons of prime quality.
10 Before the throne, was a large table filled with globes and spheres, and mathematical instruments of all kinds His majesty took not the least notice of us, although our entrance was not without sufficient noise, by the concourse of all persons belonging to the court But he was then deep in a
15 problem, and we attended at least an hour before he could solve it There stood by him, on each side, a young page with flaps in their hands, and when they saw he was at leisure, one of them gently struck his mouth, and the other his right ear, at which he started like one awaked on the sudden,
20 and looking towards me and the company I was in, recollected the occasion of our coming, whereof he had been informed before He spoke some words, whereupon immediately a young man with a flap came up to my side, and flapped me gently on the right ear, but I made signs, as well as I could,
25 that I had no occasion for such an instrument, which, as I afterwards found, gave his majesty, and the whole court, a very mean opinion of my understanding The king, as far as I could conjecture, asked me several questions, and I addressed myself to him in all the languages I had
30 it was found that I could neither understand nor be understood, I was conducted by the king's order to an apartment in his palace, (this prince being distinguished above all his predecessors for his hospitality to strangers,) where two servants were appointed to attend me My dinner was brought, and

four persons of quality, whom I remembered to have seen very near the king's person, did me the honour to dine with me. We had two courses, of three dishes each. In the first course, there was a shoulder of mutton cut into an equilateral triangle, a piece of beef into a rhomboides, and a pudding into 5 a cycloid. The second course was two ducks trussed up into the form of fiddles, sausages and puddings, resembling flutes and hautboys, and a breast of veal in the shape of a harp. The servants cut our bread into cones, cylinders, parallelograms, and several other mathematical figures 10

While we were at dinner, I made bold to ask the names of several things in their language, and those noble persons, by the assistance of their flappers, delighted to give me answers, hoping to raise my admiration of their great abilities, if I could be brought to converse with them. I 15 was soon able to call for bread and drink, or whatever else I wanted.

After dinner my company withdrew, and a person was sent to me by the king's order, attended by a flapper. He brought with him pen, ink, and paper, and three or four 20 books, giving me to understand by signs, that he was sent to teach me the language * * *

Those to whom the king had entrusted me, observing how ill I was clad, ordered a tailor to come next morning, and take my measure for a suit of clothes. This operator did his office 25 after a different manner from those of his trade in Europe. He first took my altitude by a quadrant, and then, with rule and compasses, described the dimensions and outlines of my whole body, all which he entered upon paper, and in six days brought my clothes very ill made, and quite out of 30 shape, by happening to mistake a figure in the calculation. But my comfort was, that I observed such accidents very frequent, and little regarded * * *

Their houses are very ill built, the walls bevel, without

one right angle in any apartment, and this defect ariseth from the contempt they bear to practical geometry, which they despise as vulgar and mechanic, those instructions they give being too refined for the intellectuals of their
5 workmen, which occasions perpetual mistakes And although they are dexterous enough upon a piece of paper, in the management of the rule, the pencil, and the divider, yet in the common actions and behaviour of life, I have not seen a more clumsy, awkward, and unhandy people, nor so
10 slow and perplexed in their conceptions upon all other subjects, except those of mathematics and music They are very bad reasoners, and vehemently given to opposition, unless when they happen to be of the right opinion, which is seldom their case Imagination, fancy, and invention,
15 they are wholly strangers to, nor have any words in their language, by which those ideas can be expressed, the whole compass of their thoughts and mind being shut up within the two forementioned sciences

Most of them, and especially those who deal in the
20 astronomical part, have great faith in judicial astrology, although they are ashamed to own it publicly But what I chiefly admired, and thought altogether unaccountable, was the strong disposition I observed in them towards news and politics, perpetually inquiring into public affairs, giving their
25 judgments in matters of state, and passionately disputing every inch of a party opinion I have indeed observed the same disposition among most of the mathematicians I have known in Europe, although I could never discover the least analogy between the two sciences, unless those people
30 suppose, that because the smallest circle hath as many degrees as the largest, therefore the regulation and management of the world require no more abilities than the handling and turning of a globe but I rather take this quality to spring from a very common infirmity of human nature,

inclining us to be more curious and conceited in matters where we have least concern, and for which we are least adapted by study or nature

These people are under continual disquietudes, never enjoying a minute's peace of mind, and their disturbances 5 proceed from causes which very little affect the rest of mortals. Their apprehensions arise from several changes they dread in the celestial bodies. For instance, that the earth, by the continual approaches of the sun towards it, must, in course of time, be absorbed, or swallowed up 10 That the face of the sun will by degrees be encrusted with its own effluvia, and give no more light to the world. That the earth very narrowly escaped a brush from the tail of the last comet, which would have infallibly reduced it to ashes, and that the next, which they have calculated for one-and- 15 thirty years hence, will probably destroy us. For if, in its perihelion, it should approach within a certain degree of the sun, (as by their calculations they have reason to dread,) it will conceive a degree of heat ten thousand times more intense than that of red-hot glowing iron, and in its 20 absence from the sun, carry a blazing tail, ten hundred thousand and fourteen miles long, through which, if the earth should pass at the distance of one hundred thousand miles from the nucleus, or main body of the comet, it must, in its passage, be set on fire, and reduced to ashes. That 25 the sun daily spending its rays without any nutriment to supply them, will at last be wholly consumed and annihilated, which must be attended with the destruction of this earth, and of all the planets that receive their light from it

They are so perpetually alarmed with the apprehensions 30 of these and the like impending dangers, that they can neither sleep quietly in their beds, nor have any relish for the common pleasures or amusements of life. When they meet an acquaintance in the morning, the first question is

about the sun's health, how he looked at his setting and rising, and what hopes they have to avoid the stroke of the approaching comet. This conversation they are apt to run into with the same temper that boys discover in delighting to hear terrible stories of sprites and hobgoblins, which they greedily listen to, and dare not go to bed for fear

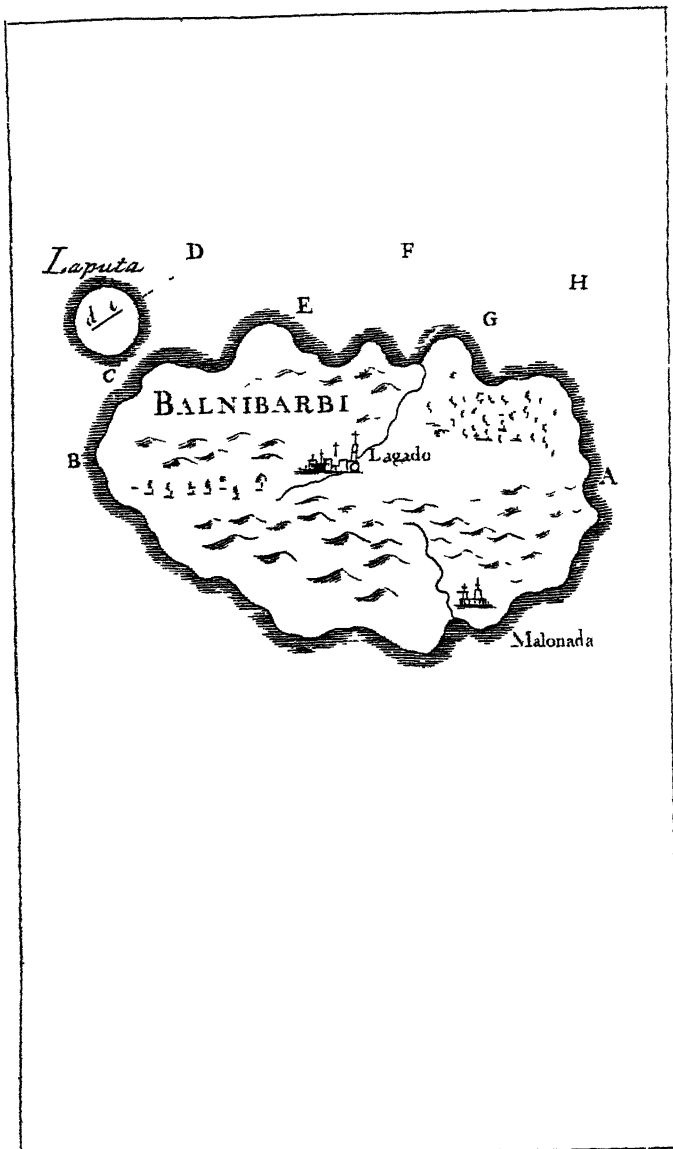
CHAPTER IV

The Author leaves Laputa, is conveyed to Balnibarbi, arrives at the Metropolis. A Description of the Metropolis and the Country adjoining. The Author hospitably received by a great Lord. His conversation with that Lord.

ALTHOUGH I cannot say that I was ill treated in this island, yet I must confess I thought myself too much neglected, not without some degree of contempt. For neither prince nor people appeared to be curious in any part of knowledge, except mathematics and music, wherein I was far their inferior, and upon that account very little regarded.

On the other side, after having seen all the curiosities of the island, I was very desirous to leave it, being heartily weary of those people. They were indeed excellent in two sciences, for which I have great esteem, and wherein I am not unversed, but at the same time so abstracted and involved in speculation, that I never met with such disagreeable companions. I conversed only with women, tradesmen, flappers, and court-pages, during two months of my abode there, by which at last I rendered myself extremely contemptible, yet these were the only people from whom I could ever receive a reasonable answer.

I had obtained, by hard study, a good degree of knowledge in their language, I was weary of being confined to an island where I received so little countenance, and resolved to leave it with the first opportunity.



NOTE —The letters A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, represent the movements of the flying island (Laputa) under the influence of the loadstone *cd*, of which *c* is the attracting end, and *d* the repelling end

There was a great lord at court, nearly related to the king, and for that reason alone, used with respect. He was universally reckoned the most ignorant and stupid person among them. He had performed many eminent services for the crown, had great natural and acquired parts, adorned 5 with integrity and honour, but so ill an ear for music, that his detractors reported he had been often known to beat time in the wrong place, neither could his tutors, without extreme difficulty, teach him to demonstrate the most easy proposition in the mathematics. He was pleased to shew 10 me many marks of favour, often did me the honour of a visit, desired to be informed in the affairs of Europe, the laws and customs, the manners and learning of the several countries where I had travelled. He listened to me with great attention, and made very wise observations on all I 15 spoke. He had two flappers attending him for state, but never made use of them except at court, and in visits of ceremony, and would always command them to withdraw when we were alone together.

I entreated this illustrious person to intercede in my 20 behalf with his majesty, for leave to depart, which he accordingly did, as he was pleased to tell me, with regret, for indeed he had made me several offers very advantageous, which, however, I refused, with expressions of the highest acknowledgment 25

On the 16th day of February I took leave of his majesty and the court. The king made me a present to the value of about two hundred pounds English, and my protector his kinsman as much more, together with a letter of recommendation to a friend of his in Lagado, the metropolis, the 30 island being then hovering over a mountain about two miles from it, I was let down from the lowest gallery, in the same manner as I had been taken up.

The continent, as far as it is subject to the monarch of

the flying island, passes under the general name of *Balmibarbi*, and the metropolis is called *Lagado*. I felt some little satisfaction in finding myself on firm ground. I walked to the city without any concern, being clad like one of the natives, and sufficiently instructed to converse with them. I soon found out the person's house to whom I was recommended, presented my letter from his friend the grandee in the island, and was received with much kindness. This great lord, whose name was Munodi, ordered me an apartment in his own house, where I continued during my stay, and was entertained in a most hospitable manner.

The next morning after my arrival, he took me in his chariot to see the town, which is about half the bigness of London, but the houses very strangely built, and most of them out of repair. The people in the streets walked fast, looked wild, their eyes fixed, and were generally in rags. We passed through one of the town gates, and went about three miles into the country, where I saw many labourers working with several sorts of tools in the ground, but was not able to conjecture what they were about. neither did I observe any expectation either of corn or grass, although the soil appeared to be excellent. I could not forbear admiring at these odd appearances, both in town and country, and I made bold to desire my conductor, that he would be pleased to explain to me, what could be meant by so many busy heads, hands, and faces, both in the streets and the fields, because I did not discover any good effects they produced, but, on the contrary, I never knew a soil so unhappily cultivated, houses so ill contrived and so ruinous, or a people whose countenances and habit expressed so much misery and want.

This Lord Munodi was a person of the first rank, and had been some years governor of *Lagado*, but, by a cabal of ministers was discharged for insufficiency. However, the king

treated him with tenderness, as a well-meaning man, but of a low contemptible understanding * * *

During our journey, he made me observe the several methods used by farmers in managing their lands, which to me were wholly unaccountable, for, except in some very few places, I could not discover one ear of corn, or blade of grass. But, in three hours travelling, the scene was wholly altered, we came into a most beautiful country. Farmers' houses, at small distances, neatly built, the fields enclosed, containing vine-yards, corn-grounds, and meadows. Neither do I remember to have seen a more delightful prospect. His excellency observed my countenance to clear up, he told me with a sigh, that there his estate began, and would continue the same, till we should come to his house. That his countrymen ridiculed and despised him, for managing his affairs no better, and for setting so ill an example to the kingdom which, however, was followed by very few, such as were old, and wilful, and weak like himself.

We came at length to the house, which was, indeed, a noble structure, built according to the best rules of ancient architecture. The fountains, gardens, walks, avenues and groves, were all disposed with exact judgment and taste. I gave due praises to everything I saw, whereof his excellency took not the least notice till after supper, when, there being no third companion, he told me, with a very melancholy air, that he doubted he must throw down his houses in town and country, to rebuild them after the present mode, destroy all his plantations, and cast others in such a form as modern usage required, and give the same directions to all his tenants, unless he would submit to incur the censure of pride, singularity, affectation, ignorance, caprice, and perhaps increase his majesty's displeasure. That the admiration I appeared to be under would cease or diminish, when he had informed me of some particulars which, probably, I never

heard of at court, the people there being too much taken up in their own speculations, to have regard to what passed here below

The sum of his discourse was to this effect That about
5 forty years ago, certain persons went up to Laputa, either
upon business or diversion, and after five months continu-
ance, came back with a very little smattering in mathe-
matics, but full of volatile spirits acquired in that airy region
That these persons upon their return, began to dislike the
10 management of every thing below, and fell into schemes of
putting all arts, sciences, languages and mechanics, upon
a new foot To this end, they procured a royal patent for
erecting an academy of projectors in Lagado, and the
humour prevailed so strongly among the people, that there
15 is not a town of any consequence in the kingdom without
such an academy In these colleges, the professors contrive
new rules and methods of agriculture and building, and
new instruments and tools for all trades and manufactures;
whereby, as they undertake, one man shall do the work of
20 ten; a palace may be built in a week, of materials so dura-
ble, as to last for ever without repairing All the fruits of
the earth shall come to maturity at whatever season we think
fit to choose, and increase an hundred fold more than they
do at present, with innumerable other happy proposals The
25 only inconvenience is, that none of these projects are yet
brought to perfection, and, in the meantime, the whole
country lies miserably waste, the houses in ruins, and the
people without food or clothes By all which, instead of
being discouraged, they are fifty times more violently bent
30 upon prosecuting their schemes, driven equally on by hope
and despair that, as for himself, being not of an enterpriz-
ing spirit, he was content to go on in the old forms, to live
in the houses his ancestors had built, and act as they did in
every part of life, without innovation That some few other

persons of quality and gentry had done the same, but were looked on with an eye of contempt and ill-will, as enemies to art, ignorant, and ill commonwealth's men, preferring their own ease and sloth, before the general improvement of their country * * *

5

CHAPTER VII

The Author leaves Lagado Arrives at Maldonada No Ship ready He takes a short Voyage to Glubbudbrib His Reception by the Governor

THE continent, of which this kingdom is a part, extends itself, as I have reason to believe, eastward, to that unknown tract of America westward of California, and north, to the Pacific Ocean, which is not above a hundred and fifty miles from Lagado, where there is a good port, and much commerce with the great island of Luggnagg, situated to the north-west about 29 degrees north latitude, and 140 longitude. This island of Luggnagg stands south-eastwards of Japan, about an hundred leagues distant. There is a strict alliance between the Japanese emperor and the king of Luggnagg, which affords frequent opportunities of sailing from one island to the other. I determined therefore to direct my course this way, in order to my return to Europe. I hired two mules, with a guide, to shew me the way, and carry my small baggage. I took leave of my noble protector, who had shewn me so much favour, and made me a generous present at my departure.

My journey was without any accident or adventure worth relating. When I arrived at the port of Maldonada, (for so it is called,) there was no ship in the harbour bound for Luggnagg, nor like to be in some time. The town is about as large as Portsmouth. I soon fell into some acquaintance,

and was very hospitably received. A gentleman of distinction said to me, That since the ships bound for Luggnagg could not be ready in less than a month, it might be no disagreeable amusement for me to take a trip to the little island
5 of Glubbdubdrib, about five leagues off to the south-west. He offered himself and a friend to accompany me, and that I should be provided with a small convenient barque for the voyage.

Glubbdubdrib, as nearly as I can interpret the word,
10 signifies the island of sorcerers or magicians. It is about one third as large as the Isle of Wight, and extremely fruitful. It is governed by the head of a certain tribe, who are all magicians. This tribe marries only among each other, and the eldest in succession is prince, or governor. He
15 hath a noble palace, and a park of about three thousand acres, surrounded by a wall of hewn stone twenty foot high. In this park are several smaller inclosures for cattle, corn, and gardening.

The governor and his family are served and attended by
20 domestics of a kind somewhat unusual. By his skill in necromancy, he hath a power of calling whom he pleaseth from the dead, and commanding their service for twenty-four hours, but no longer, nor can he call the same persons up again in less than three months, except upon very extra-
25 ordinary occasions.

When we arrived at the island, which was about eleven in the morning, one of the gentlemen who accompanied me went to the governor, and desired admittance for a stranger, who came on purpose to have the honour of attending on
30 his highness. This was immediately granted, and we all three entered the gate of the palace between two rows of guards, armed and dressed after a very antic manner, and something in their countenances that made my flesh creep with a horror I cannot express. We passed through several

apartments between servants of the same sort, ranked on each side as before, till we came to the chamber of presence, where, after three profound obeisances, and a few general questions, we were permitted to sit on three stools, near the lowest step of his highness's throne. He understood the language of Balnibarbi, although it were different from that of his island. He desired me to give him some account of my travels, and to let me see that I should be treated without ceremony, he dismissed all his attendants with a turn of his finger, at which, to my great astonishment, they vanished in an instant, like visions in a dream when we awake on a sudden. I could not recover myself in some time, till the governor assured me, that I should receive no hurt, and observing my two companions to be under no concern, who had been often entertained in the same manner, I began to take courage, and related to his highness a short history of my several adventures, yet not without some hesitation, and frequently looking behind me to the place where I had seen those domestic spectres. I had the honour to dine with the governor, where a new set of ghosts served up the meat, and waited at table. I now observed myself to be less terrified than I had been in the morning. I stayed till sunset, but humbly desired his highness to excuse me for not accepting his invitation of lodging in the palace. My two friends and I lay at a private house in the town adjoining, which is the capital of this little island, and the next morning we returned to pay our duty to the governor, as he was pleased to command us.

After this manner we continued in the island for ten days, most part of every day with the governor, and at night in our lodging. I soon grew so familiarized to the sight of spirits, that, after the third or fourth time, they gave me no emotion at all, or, if I had any apprehensions left, my curiosity prevailed over them. For his highness the gover-

nor ordered me to call up whatever persons I would choose to name, and in whatever numbers among all the dead from the beginning of the world to the present time, and command them to answer any questions I should think fit to ask, 5 with this condition, that my questions must be confined within the compass of the times they lived in And one thing I might depend upon, that they would certainly tell me truth, for lying was a talent of no use in the lower world

10 I made my humble acknowledgments to his highness for so great a favour We were in a chamber, from whence there was a fair prospect into the park And because my first inclination was to be entertained with scenes of pomp and magnificence, I desired to see Alexander the Great at 15 the head of his army, just after the battle of Arbela, which, upon a motion of the governor's finger, immediately appeared in a large field, under the window where we stood Alexander was called up into the room, it was with great difficulty that I understood his Greek, and had but little of 20 my own He assured me upon his honour, that he was not poisoned, but died of a fever by excessive drinking

Next I saw Hannibal passing the Alps, who told me he had not a drop of vinegar in his camp

I saw Cæsar and Pompey at the head of their troops, just 25 ready to engage I saw the former in his last great triumph I desired that the senate of Rome might appear before me in one large chamber, and a modern representative, in counterview, in another The first seemed to be an assembly of heroes and demi-gods, the other, a knot of pedlars, pick- 30 pockets, highwaymen and bullies

The governor, at my request, gave the sign for Cæsar and Brutus to advance towards us I was struck with a profound veneration at the sight of Brutus, and could easily discover the most consummate virtue, the greatest intrepidity and

firmness of mind, the truest love of his country, and general benevolence for mankind, in every lineament of his countenance I observed with much pleasure that these two persons were in good intelligence with each other, and Cæsar freely confessed to me, that the greatest actions of his own life were not equal, by many degrees, to the glory of taking it away I had the honour to have much conversation with Brutus, and was told, that his ancestor Junius, Socrates, Epaminondas, Cato the younger, Sir Thomas More, and himself, were perpetually together a *Sextumvirate* to which all the ages of the world cannot add a seventh

It would be tedious to trouble the reader with relating what vast numbers of illustrious persons were called up, to gratify that insatiable desire I had to see the world in every period of antiquity placed before me I chiefly fed my eyes with beholding the destroyers of tyrants and usurpers, and the restorers of liberty to oppressed and injured nations But it is impossible to express the satisfaction I received in my own mind, after such a manner as to make it a suitable entertainment to the reader

20

CHAPTER VIII

Ancient and modern History corrected

HAVING a desire to see those ancients who were most renowned for wit and learning, I set apart one day on purpose. I proposed that Homer and Aristotle might appear at the head of all their commentators, but these were so numerous, that some hundreds were forced to attend in the court, and outward rooms of the palace I knew and could distinguish those two heroes, at first sight, not only from the crowd, but from each other Homer was the taller and comelier person of the two, walked very erect for one of his

age, and his eyes were the most quick and piercing I ever beheld Aristotle stooped much, and made use of a staff His visage was meagre, his hair lank and thin, and his voice hollow I soon discovered that both of them were perfect
5 strangers to the rest of the company, and had never seen or heard of them before And I had a whisper from a ghost, who shall be nameless, that these commentators always kept in the most distant quarters from their principals in the lower world, through a consciousness of shame and guilt,
10 because they had so horribly misrepresented the meaning of those authors to posterity I introduced Didymus and Eustathius to Homer, and prevailed on him to treat them better than perhaps they deserved, for he soon found they wanted a genius to enter into the spirit of a poet But
15 Aristotle was out of all patience with the account I gave him of Scotus and Ramus, as I presented them to him, and he asked them whether the rest of the tribe were as great dunces as themselves

I then desired the governor to call up Descartes and
20 Gassendi, with whom I prevailed to explain their systems to Aristotle This great philosopher freely acknowledged his own mistakes in natural philosophy, because he proceeded in many things upon conjecture, as all men must do, and he found, that Gassendi, who had made the doctrine of
25 Epicurus as palatable as he could, and the Vortices of Descartes, were equally exploded He predicted the same fate to Attraction, whereof the present learned are such zealous assertors He said, that new systems of nature were but new fashions, which would vary in every age, and even
30 those who pretended to demonstrate them from mathematical principles, would flourish but a short period of time, and be out of vogue when that was determined

I spent five days in conversing with many others of the ancient learned I saw most of the first Roman emperors

I prevailed on the governor to call up Eliogabalus's cooks to dress us a dinner, but they could not shew us much of their skill, for want of materials. A helot of Agesilaus made us a dish of Spartan broth, but I was not able to get down a second spoonful * * *

I was chiefly disgusted with modern history, for having strictly examined all the persons of greatest name in the courts of princes for an hundred years past, I found how the world had been misled by prostitute writers, to ascribe the greatest exploits in war to cowards, the wisest counsel, 10 to fools, sincerity to flatterers, Roman virtue to betrayers of their country, piety to atheists, truth, to informers. How many innocent and excellent persons had been condemned to death or banishment, by the practising of great ministers upon the corruption of judges, and the malice of 15 factions, how many villains had been exalted to the highest places of trust, power, dignity, and profit, how great a share in the motions and events of courts, councils, and senates, might be challenged by bawds, whores, pimps, parasites, and buffoons. How low an opinion I had of human wis- 20 dom and integrity, when I was truly informed of the springs and motives of great enterprizes and revolutions in the world, and of the contemptible accidents to which they owed their success.

Here I discovered the roguery and ignorance of those 25 who pretend to write anecdotes, or secret history, who send so many kings to their graves with a cup of poison, will repeat the discourse between a prince and chief minister, where no witness was by, unlock the thoughts and cabinets of ambassadors and secretaries of state, and have the perpe- 30 tual misfortune to be mistaken. Here I discovered the secret causes of many great events that have surprised the world, how a courtesane can govern the back-stairs, the back-stairs a council, and the council a senate. A general

confessed in my presence, That he got a victory purely by the force of cowardice and ill conduct , and an admiral That, for want of proper intelligence, he beat the enemy, to whom he intended to betray the fleet Three kings protested to me, That in their whole reigns they did never once prefer any person of merit, unless by mistake, or treachery of some minister in whom they confided , neither would they do it if they were to live again , and they shewed, with great strength of reason, That the royal throne could not be supported without corruption, because that positive, confident, restive temper, which virtue infused into a man, was a perpetual clog to public business

I had the curiosity to inquire, in a particular manner, by what method great numbers had procured to themselves high titles of honour, and prodigious estates , and I confined my inquiry to a very modern period , however without grating upon present times, because I would be sure to give no offence even to foreigners (for I hope the reader need not be told, that I do not in the least intend my own country, in what I say upon this occasion) a great number of persons concerned were called up , and, upon a very slight examination, discovered such a scene of infamy, that I cannot reflect upon it without some seriousness * * *

I had often read of some great services done to princes and states, and desired to see the persons by whom those services were performed Upon inquiry, I was told, That their names were to be found on no record, except a few of them, whom history hath represented as the vilest rogues and traitors As to the rest, I had never once heard of them They all appeared with dejected looks, and in the meanest habit , most of them telling me, They died in poverty and disgrace, and the rest on a scaffold or a gibbet. * * *

I descended so low as to desire that some English yeomen

of the old stamp might be summoned to appear, once so famous for the simplicity of their manners, diet, and dress for justice in their dealings, for their true spirit of liberty, for their valour, and love of their country. Neither could I be wholly unmoved, after comparing the living with the dead, when I considered how all these pure native virtues were prostituted for a piece of money by their grandchildren, who, in selling their votes, and managing at elections, have acquired every vice and corruption that can possibly be learned in a court * * *

10

CHAPTER X¹

The Luggnaggians commended A particular Description of the Struldbrugs, with many Conversations between the Author and some eminent Persons upon that Subject

THE Luggnaggians are a polite and generous people, and although they are not without some share of that pride which is peculiar to all eastern countries, yet they shew themselves courteous to strangers, especially such who are countenanced by the court. I had many acquaintance among persons of the best fashion, and being always attended by my interpreter, the conversation we had was not disagreeable.

One day, in much good company, I was asked by a person of quality whether I had seen any of their *struld-brugs* or immortals. I said, I had not, and desired he would explain to me what he meant by such an appellation applied to a mortal creature. He told me, That sometimes, though very rarely, a child happened to be born in a family with a red circular spot in the forehead, directly over the

¹ Gulliver has in the previous chapter described how he left Glubbubdrub, and, by way of Maldonada, had reached Luggnagg

left eyebrow, which was an infallible mark that it should never die. The spot, as he described it, was about the compass of a silver threepence, but in the course of time grew larger, and changed its colour, for at twelve years old
5 it became green, so continued till five-and-twenty, then turned to a deep blue. At five and forty it grew coal-black, and as large as an English shilling, but never admitted any farther alteration. He said, These births were so rare, that he did not believe there could be above eleven hundred
10 *struldbugs* of both sexes in the whole kingdom, of which he computed above fifty in the metropolis, and among the rest a young girl born about three years ago. That these productions were not peculiar to any family, but a mere effect of chance, and the children of the *struldbugs* them-
15 selves were equally mortal with the rest of the people.

I freely own myself to have been struck with inexpressible delight upon hearing this account, and the person who gave it me happening to understand the Balnibarbian language, which I spoke very well, I could not forbear
20 breaking out into expressions perhaps a little too extravagant. I cried out as in a rapture, Happy nation, where every child hath at least a chance for being immortal! Happy people, who enjoy so many living examples of ancient virtue, and have masters ready to instruct them in
25 the wisdom of all former ages! but happiest, beyond all comparison, are those excellent *struldbugs*, who being born exempt from that universal calamity of human nature, have their minds free and disengaged, without the weight and depression of spirits caused by the continual apprehen-
30 sion of death! I discovered my admiration, that I had not observed any of these illustrious persons at court, the black spot on the forehead being so remarkable a distinction, that I could not have easily overlooked it, and it was impossible that his majesty, a most judicious prince, should

not provide himself with a good number of such wise and able counsellors. Yet perhaps the virtue of those reverend sages was too strict for the corrupt and libertine manners of a court. And we often find by experience that young men are too opinionative and volatile to be guided by the sober dictates of their seniors. However, since the king was pleased to allow me access to his royal person, I was resolved upon the very first occasion to deliver my opinion to him on this matter freely and at large, by the help of my interpreter, and whether he would please to take my advice 10 or no, yet in one thing I was determined, that, his majesty having frequently offered me an establishment in this country, I would with great thankfulness accept the favour, and pass my life here in the conversation of those superior beings, the *struldbrugs*, if they would please to admit me 15

The gentleman to whom I addressed my discourse, because (as I have already observed) he spoke the language of Balnibarbi, said to me, with a sort of a smile, which usually ariseth from pity to the ignorant, That he was glad of any occasion to keep me among them, and desired my permission 20 to explain to the company what I had spoke. He did so, and they talked together for some time in their own language, whereof I understood not a syllable, neither could I observe by their countenances what impression my discourse had made on them. After a short silence the same person told 25 me, That his friends and mine (so he thought fit to express himself) were very much pleased with the judicious remarks I had made on the great happiness and advantages of immortal life, and they were desirous to know in a particular manner what schemes of living I should have formed to 30 myself, if it had fallen to my lot to have been born a *struldbrug*.

I answered, It was easy to be eloquent on so copious and delightful a subject, especially to me who have been

often apt to amuse myself with visions of what I should do if I were a king, a general, or a great lord and upon this very case I had frequently run over the whole system how I should employ myself, and pass the time if I were
5 sure to live for ever

That if it had been my good fortune to come into the world a *struldbrug*, as soon as I could discover my own happiness, by understanding the difference between life and death, I would first resolve, by all arts and methods what-
10 soever, to procure myself riches In the pursuit of which, by thrift and management, I might reasonably expect in about two hundred years, to be the wealthiest man in the kingdom In the second place I would from my earliest youth apply myself to the study of arts and sciences, by which I should
15 arrive in time to excel all others in learning Lastly, I would carefully record every action and event of consequence that happened in the public, impartially draw the characters of the several successions of princes and great ministers of state, with my own observations on every point I would
20 exactly set down the several changes in customs, language, fashions of dress, diet, and diversions By all which acquisitions, I should be a living treasury of knowledge and wisdom, and certainly become the oracle of the nation

I would never marry after threescore, but live in an
25 hospitable manner, yet still on the saving side I would entertain myself in forming and directing the minds of hopeful young men, by convincing them from my own remembrance, experience, and observation, fortified by numerous examples, of the usefulness of virtue in public
30 and private life But my choice and constant companions should be a set of my own immortal brotherhood, among whom I would elect a dozen from the most ancient, down to my own contemporaries Where any of these wanted fortunes, I would provide them with convenient lodges

round my own estate, and have some of them always at my table, only mingling a few of the most valuable among you mortals, whom length of time would harden me to lose with little or no reluctance, and treat your posterity after the same manner, just as a man diverts himself with the annual succession of pinks and tulips in his garden, without regretting the loss of those which withered the preceding year

These *struldbrugs* and I would mutually communicate our observations and memorials through the course of time, to remark the several gradations by which corruption steals into the world, and oppose it in every step, by giving perpetual warning and instruction to mankind, which, added to the strong influence of our own example, would probably prevent that continual degeneracy of human nature so justly complained of in all ages

Add to all this, the pleasure of seeing the various revolutions of states and empires, the changes in the lower and upper world, ancient cities in ruins, and obscure villages become the seats of kings, famous rivers lessening into shallow brooks, the ocean leaving one coast dry and overwhelming another, the discovery of many countries yet unknown, barbarity overrunning the politest nations, and the most barbarous become civilized. I should then see the discovery of the longitude, the perpetual motion, the universal medicine, and many other great inventions brought to the utmost perfection

What wonderful discoveries should we make in astronomy, by outliving and confirming our own predictions, by observing the progress and returns of comets, with the changes of motion in the sun, moon, and stars!

I enlarged upon many other topics, which the natural desire of endless life and sublunary happiness could easily furnish me with. When I had ended, and the sum of my

discourse had been interpreted, as before, to the rest of the company, there was a good deal of talk among them in the language of the country, not without some laughter at my expense. At last, the same gentleman who had been my
5 interpreter said, He was desired by the rest to set me right in a few mistakes which I had fallen into through the common imbecility of human nature, and upon that allowance was less answerable for them. That this breed of *struldbrugs* was peculiar to their country, for there were
10 no such people either in Balnibarbi or Japan, where he had the honour to be ambassador from his majesty, and found the natives in both those kingdoms very hard to believe that the fact was possible. and it appeared from my astonishment when he first mentioned the matter to me, that I
15 received it as a thing wholly new, and scarcely to be credited. That in the two kingdoms above mentioned, where during his residence he had conversed very much, he observed long life to be the universal desire and wish of mankind. That whoever had one foot in the grave, was sure to hold
20 back the other as strongly as he could. That the oldest had still hopes of living one day longer, and looked on death as the greatest evil, from which nature always prompted him to retreat. Only in this island of Luggnagg the appetite for living was not so eager, from the continual example of the
25 *struldbrugs* before their eyes.

That the system of living contrived by me was unreasonable and unjust, because it supposed a perpetuity of youth, health and vigour, which no man could be so foolish to hope, however extravagant he may be in his wishes. That
30 the question therefore was not whether a man would choose to be always in the prime of youth, attended with prosperity and health, but how he would pass a perpetual life under all the usual disadvantages which old age brings along with it. For although few men will avow their desires of being

immortal upon such hard conditions, yet in the two kingdoms before mentioned, of Balmibarbi and Japan, he observed that every man desired to put off death for some time longer, let it approach ever so late, and he rarely heard of any man who died willingly, except he were incited by the extremity of 5 grief or torture. And he appealed to me whether in those countries I had travelled as well as my own, I had not observed the same general disposition.

After this preface, he gave me a particular account of the *struldbrugs* among them. He said, They commonly acted 10 like mortals, till about thirty years old, after which by degrees they grew melancholy and dejected, increasing in both till they came to fourscore. This he learned from their own confession, for otherwise there not being above two or three of that species born in an age, they were too 15 few to form a general observation by. When they came to fourscore years, which is reckoned the extremity of living in this country, they had not only all the follies and infirmities of other old men, but many more which arose from the dreadful prospects of never dying. They were not only 20 opinionative, peevish, covetous, morose, vain, talkative, but incapable of friendship, and dead to all natural affection, which never descended below their grand-children. Envy and impotent desires are their prevailing passions. But those objects against which their envy seems principally 25 directed, are the vices of the younger sort, and the deaths of the old. By reflecting on the former, they find themselves cut off from all possibility of pleasure, and whenever they see a funeral, they lament and repine that others are gone to an harbour of rest, to which they themselves never can 30 hope to arrive. They have no remembrance of anything, but what they learned and observed in their youth and middle age, and even that is very imperfect. And for the truth or particulars of any fact, it is safer to depend on

common tradition, than upon their best recollections The least miserable among them, appear to be those who turn to dotage, and entirely lose their memories, these meet with more pity and assistance, because they want many bad
5 qualities which abound in others

If a *struldbrug* happen to marry one of his own kind, the marriage is dissolved of course, by the courtesy of the kingdom, as soon as the younger of the two comes to be fourscore For the law thinks it a reasonable indulgence,
10 that those who are condemned without any fault of their own to a perpetual continuance in the world, should not have their misery doubled by the load of a wife

As soon as they have completed the term of eighty years, they are looked on as dead in law, their heirs
15 immediately succeed to their estates, only a small pittance is reserved for their support, and the poor ones are maintained at the public charge After that period they are held incapable of any employment of trust or profit, they cannot purchase lands or take leases, neither are they
20 allowed to be witnesses in any cause, either civil or criminal, not even for the decision of meers and bounds

At ninety they lose their teeth and hair, they have at that age no distinction of taste, but eat and drink whatever they can get, without relish or appetite The diseases they
25 were subject to still continue without increasing or diminishing In talking they forget the common appellation of things, and the names of persons, even of those who are their nearest friends and relations For the same reason they never can amuse themselves with reading, because
30 their memory will not serve to carry them from the beginning of a sentence to the end, and by this defect, they are deprived of the only entertainment whereof they might otherwise be capable

The language of this country being always upon the

flux, the *struldbrugs* of one age do not understand those of another, neither are they able after two hundred years to hold any conversation (farther than by a few general words) with their neighbours the mortals, and thus they lie under the disadvantage of living like foreigners in their own country

This was the account given me of the *struldbrugs*, as near as I can remember. I afterwards saw five or six of different ages, the youngest not above two hundred years old, who were brought to me at several times by some of my friends, but although they were told that I was a great traveller, and had seen all the world, they had not the least curiosity to ask me a question, only desired I would give them *slumskudask*, or a token of remembrance, which is a modest way of begging, to avoid the law that strictly forbids it, because they are provided for by the public, although indeed with a very scanty allowance

They are despised and hated by all sorts of people. When one of them is born, it is reckoned ominous, and their birth is recorded very particularly, so that you may know their age by consulting the registry, which however hath not been kept above a thousand years past, or at least hath been destroyed by time or public disturbances. But the usual way of computing how old they are, is by asking them what kings or great persons they can remember, and then consulting history, for infallibly the last prince in their mind did not begin his reign after they were fourscore years old

They were the most mortifying sight I ever beheld, and the women more horrible than the men. Besides the usual deformities in extreme old age, they acquired an additional ghastliness in proportion to their number of years, which is not to be described, and among half a dozen I soon distinguished which was the eldest, although there was not above a century or two between them

The reader will easily believe, that from what I had heard and seen, my keen appetite for perpetuity of life was much abated I grew heartily ashamed of the pleasing visions I had formed , and thought no tyrant could invent
5 a death, into which I would not run with pleasure from such a life The king heard of all that had passed between me and my friends upon this occasion, and rallied me very pleasantly , wishing I could send a couple of *struldbrugs* to my own country, to arm our people against the fear of death ,
10 but this it seems is forbidden by the fundamental laws of the kingdom, or else I should have been well content with the trouble and expense of transporting them

I could not but agree, that the laws of this kingdom relating to the *struldbrugs*, were founded upon the strongest
15 reasons, and such as any other country would be under the necessity of enacting in the like circumstances Otherwise, as avarice is the necessary consequent of old age, those immortals would in time become proprietors of the whole nation, and engross the civil power, which, for want of
20 abilities to manage, must end in the ruin of the public.

CHAPTER XI

The Author leaves Luggnagg, and sails to Japan From thence he returns in a Dutch Ship to Amsterdam, and from Amsterdam to England

I THOUGHT this account of the *struldbrugs* might be some entertainment to the reader, because it seems to be a little out of the common way , at least I do not remember to have met the like in any book of travels that hath come to my
25 hands and if I am deceived, my excuse must be, that it is necessary for travellers, who describe the same country, very often to agree in dwelling on the same particulars, without

deserving the censure of having borrowed or transcribed from those who wrote before them * * *

On the 6th day of May, 1709, I took a solemn leave of his majesty, and all my friends This prince was so gracious, as to order a guard to conduct me to Glanguenstald, which 5 is a royal port to the south-west part of the island In six days I found a vessel ready to carry me to Japan, and spent fifteen days in the voyage * * *

On the 9th day of June, 1709, I arrived at Nangasac, after a very long and troublesome journey I soon fell into 10 the company of some Dutch sailors belonging to the Amboyne of Amsterdam, a stout ship of 450 tons I had lived long in Holland, pursuing my studies at Leyden, and I spoke Dutch well The seamen soon knew from whence I came last, they were curious to inquire into my voyages 15 and course of life I made up a story as short and probable as I could, but concealed the greatest part I knew many persons in Holland, I was able to invent names for my parents, whom I pretended to be obscure people in the province of Gelderland I would have given the 20 captain (one Theodorus Vangrult) what he pleased to ask for my voyage to Holland, but understanding I was a surgeon, he was contented to take half the usual rate, on condition that I would serve him in the way of my calling * * *

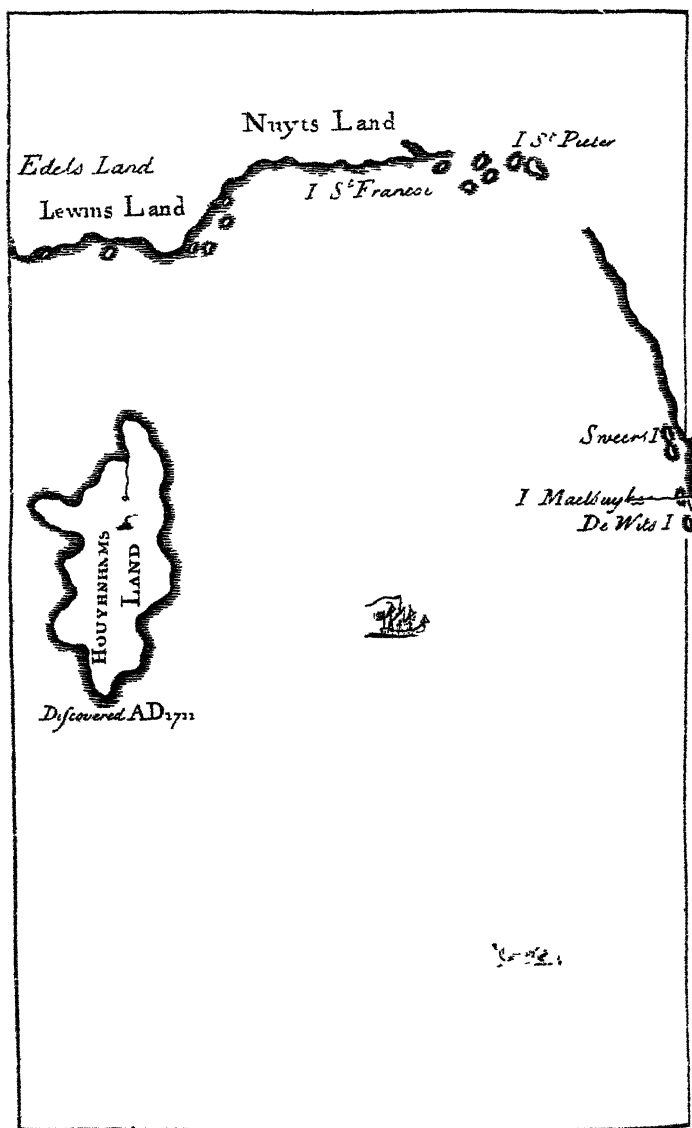
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Nothing happened worth mentioning in this voyage We sailed with a fair wind to the Cape of Good Hope, where we stayed only to take in fresh water On the 10th of April, 1710, we arrived safely at Amsterdam, having lost only three men by sickness in the voyage, and a fourth who fell 30 from the foremast into the sea, not far from the coast of Guinea From Amsterdam I soon after set sail for England, in a small vessel belonging to that city

On the 16th of April we put in at the Downs I landed

next morning, and saw once more my native country after
an absence of five years and six months complete I went
straight to Redriff, where I arrived the same day at two
in the afternoon, and found my wife and family in good
5 health

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PART IV

A VOYAGE TO THE COUNTRY OF THE HOUYHNHNMS

CHAPTER I

The Author sets out as Captain of a Ship His Men conspire against him, confine him a long Time to his Cabin, set him on Shore in an unknown Land He travels up in the Country The Yahoos a strange sort of Animal, described The Author meets two Houyhnhnms

I CONTINUED at home with my wife and children about five months, in a very happy condition, if I could have learned the lesson of knowing when I was well I left my poor wife big with child, and accepted an advantageous offer made me to be captain of the Adventure, a stout merchantman of 350 tons for I understood navigation well, and being grown weary of a surgeon's employment at sea, which, however, I could exercise upon occasion, I took a skilful young man of that calling, one Robert Purefoy, into my ship We set sail from Portsmouth upon the 7th day 10 of September, 1710, on the 14th, we met with Captain Peacock of Bristol, at Teneriffe, who was going to the Bay of Campechy to cut logwood On the 16th, he was parted from us by a storm, I heard since my return, that his ship foundered, and none escaped but one cabin-boy He was 15 an honest man, and a good sailor, but a little too positive in his own opinions, which was the cause of his destruction, as it hath been of several others For if he had followed my advice, he might have been safe at home with his family at this time, as well as myself

I had several men died in my ship of calentures, so that I was forced to get recruits out of Barbadoes and the Leeward Islands, where I touched by the direction of the merchants who employed me, which I had soon too much cause to
5 repent, for I found afterwards, that most of them had been buccaneers I had fifty hands on board, and my orders were, that I should trade with the Indians in the South Sea, and make what discoveries I could These rogues whom I had picked up debauched my other men, and they all formed
10 a conspiracy to seize the ship, and secure me, which they did one morning, rushing into my cabin, and binding me hand and foot, threatening to throw me overboard if I offered to stir I told them, I was their prisoner, and would submit This they made me swear to do, and then they
15 unbound me, only fastening one of my legs with a chain, near my bed, and placed a sentry at my door with his piece charged, who was commanded to shoot me dead, if I attempted my liberty * * *

Upon the 9th day of May, 1711, one James Welch came
20 down to my cabin, and said he had orders from the captain to set me ashore I expostulated with him, but in vain, neither would he so much as tell me who their new captain was They forced me into the long-boat, letting me put on my best suit of clothes, which were as good as new, and take
25 a small bundle of linen, but no arms, except my hanger, and they were so civil as not to search my pockets, into which I conveyed what money I had, with some other little necessities They rowed about a league, and then set me down on a strand I desired them to tell me what
30 country it was They all swore they knew no more than myself, but said, that the captain (as they called him) was resolved, after they had sold the lading, to get rid of me in the first place where they could discover land They pushed off immediately, advising me to make haste

for fear of being overtaken by the tide, and so bade me farewell

In this desolate condition I advanced forward, and soon got upon firm ground, where I sat down on a bank to rest myself and consider what I had best to do. When I was a little refreshed, I went up into the country, resolving to deliver myself to the first savages I should meet, and purchase my life from them by some bracelets, glass rings, and other toys, which sailors usually provide themselves with in those voyages, and whereof I had some about me. The land was divided by long rows of trees, not regularly planted, but naturally growing, there was great plenty of grass, and several fields of oats. I walked very circumspectly, for fear of being surprised, or suddenly shot with an arrow from behind, or on either side. I fell into a beaten road, where I saw many tracks of human feet, and some of cows, but most of horses. At last I beheld several animals in a field, and one or two of the same kind sitting in trees. Their shape was very singular and deformed, which a little discomposed me, so that I lay down behind a thicket, to observe them better. Some of them coming forward near the place where I lay, gave me an opportunity of distinctly marking their form * * *. Upon the whole, I never beheld, in all my travels, so disagreeable an animal, or one against which I naturally conceived so great an antipathy. So that, thinking I had seen enough, full of contempt and aversion, I got up, and pursued the beaten road, hoping it might direct me to the cabin of some Indian. I had not gone far, when I met one of these creatures full in my way, and coming up directly to me. The ugly monster, when he saw me, distorted several ways every feature of his visage, and stared, as at an object he had never seen before, then approaching nearer, lifted up his fore-paw, whether out of curiosity or mischief, I could not tell; but I drew my hanger, and gave

him a good blow with the flat side of it, for I durst not strike him with the edge, fearing the inhabitants might be provoked against me, if they should come to know that I had killed or maimed any of their cattle. When the beast felt the
5 smart, he drew back, and roared so loud, that a herd of at least forty came flocking about me from the next field, howling, and making odious faces, but I ran to the body of a tree, and, leaning my back against it, kept them off by waving my hanger * * *

10 In the midst of this distress, I observed them all to run away on a sudden as fast as they could, at which I ventured to leave the tree, and pursue the road, wondering what it was that could put them into this fright. But looking on my left hand, I saw a horse walking softly in the field, which
15 my persecutors having sooner discovered, was the cause of their flight. The horse started a little when he came near me, but soon recovering himself, looked full in my face with manifest tokens of wonder. He viewed my hands and feet, walking round me several times. I would have pursued my
20 journey, but he placed himself directly in the way, yet looking with a very mild aspect, never offering the least violence. We stood gazing at each other for some time, at last I took the boldness to reach my hand towards his neck, with a design to stroke it, using the common style and whistle of
25 jockeys when they are going to handle a strange horse. But this animal seeming to receive my civilities with disdain, shook his head, and bent his brows, softly raising up his right fore-foot to remove my hand. Then he neighed three or four times, but in so different a cadence, that I almost
30 began to think he was speaking to himself in some language of his own.

While he and I were thus employed, another horse came up, who applying himself to the first in a very formal manner, they gently struck each other's right hoof before neigh-

ing several times by turns, and varying the sound, which seemed to be almost articulate. They went some paces off, as if it were to confer together, walking side by side, backward and forward, like persons deliberating upon some affair of weight, but often turning their eyes towards me, as it were 5 to watch that I might not escape. I was amazed to see such actions and behaviour in brute beasts, and concluded with myself, that if the inhabitants of this country were endowed with a proportionable degree of reason, they must needs be the wisest people upon earth. This thought gave me so 10 much comfort, that I resolved to go forward, until I could discover some house or village, or meet with any of the natives, leaving the two horses to discourse together as they pleased. But the first, who was a dapple grey, observing me to steal off, neighed after me in so expressive a tone, that I fancied 15 myself to understand what he meant, whereupon I turned back, and came near him, to expect his farther commands, but concealing my fear as much as I could, for I began to be in some pain how this adventure might terminate, and the reader will easily believe I did not much like my present 20 situation.

The two horses came up close to me, looking with great earnestness upon my face and hands. The grey steed rubbed my hat all round with his right fore-hoof, and discomposed it so much, that I was forced to adjust it better by 25 taking it off, and settling it again, whereat both he and his companion (who was a brown bay) appeared to be much surprised. The latter felt the lappet of my coat, and finding it to hang loose about me, they both looked with new signs of wonder. He stroked my right hand, seeming to admire 30 the softness and colour, but he squeezed it so hard between his hoof and his pastern, that I was forced to roar, after which they both touched me with all possible tenderness. They were under great perplexity about my shoes and

stockings, which they felt very often, neighing to each other, and using various gestures, not unlike those of a philosopher, when he would attempt to solve some new and difficult phenomenon

5 Upon the whole, the behaviour of these animals was so orderly and rational, so acute and judicious, that I at last concluded they must need be magicians, who had thus metamorphosed themselves upon some design, and seeing a stranger in the way were resolved to divert themselves with
10 him, or perhaps were really amazed at the sight of a man so very different in habit, feature, and complexion, from those who might probably live in so remote a climate Upon the strength of this reasoning, I ventured to address them in the following manner Gentlemen, if you be conjurors, as
15 I have good cause to believe, you can understand my language, therefore I make bold to let your worships know that I am a poor distressed Englishman, driven by his misfortunes upon your coast, and I entreat one of you to let me ride upon his back, as if he were a real horse, to some
20 house or village where I can be relieved In return of which favour, I will make you a present of this knife and bracelet, (taking them out of my pocket) The two creatures stood silent while I spoke, seeming to listen with great attention, and when I had ended, they neighed frequently towards
25 each other, as if they were engaged in serious conversation I plainly observed that their language expressed the passions very well, and the words might, with little pains, be resolved into an alphabet more easily than the Chinese

I could frequently distinguish the word *Yahoo*, which was
30 repeated by each of them several times, and although it was impossible for me to conjecture what it meant, yet, while the two horses were busy in conversation, I endeavoured to practise this word upon my tongue, and, as soon as they were silent, I boldly pronounced *Yahoo*, in a loud voice,

imitating at the same time, as near as I could, the neighing of a horse, at which they were both visibly surprised, and the grey repeated the same word twice, as if he meant to teach me the right accent, wherein I spoke after him as well as I could, and found myself perceivably to improve 5 every time, though very far from any degree of perfection. Then the bay tried me with a second word, much harder to be pronounced, but, reducing it to the English orthography, may be spelt thus, *Houyhnhnm*. I did not succeed in this so well as the former, but after two or three farther trials, 10 I had better fortune, and they both appeared amazed at my capacity.

After some further discourse, which I then conjectured might relate to me, the two friends took their leaves, with the same compliment of striking each other's hoof, and the 15 grey made me signs that I should walk before him, wherein I thought it prudent to comply, till I could find a better director. When I offered to slacken my pace, he would cry *hhuun hhuun*. I guessed his meaning, and gave him to understand, as well as I could, that I was weary, and not 20 able to walk faster, upon which he would stand a while to let me rest.

CHAPTER II.

The Author conducted by a Houyhnhnm to his House. The House described. The Author's Reception. The Food of the Houyhnhnms. The Author in Distress for want of Meat. Is at last relieved.

HAVING travelled about three miles, we came to a long kind of building, made of timber stuck in the ground, and wattled across, the roof was low, and covered with straw 25 I now began to be a little comforted, and took out some toys, which travellers usually carry for presents to the savage

Indians of America, and other parts, in hopes the people of the house would be thereby encouraged to receive me kindly. The horse made me a sign to go in first. It was a large room, with a smooth clay floor, and a rack and manger extending the whole length on one side. There were three nags and two mares, not eating, but some of them sitting down upon their hams, which I very much wondered at, but wondered more to see the rest employed in domestic business, they seemed but ordinary cattle. However, this confirmed my first opinion, that a people who could so far civilize brute animals, must needs excel in wisdom all the nations of the world. The grey came in just after, and thereby prevented any ill treatment which the others might have given me. He neighed to them several times in a style of authority, and received answers.

Beyond this room, there were three others, reaching the length of the house, to which you passed through three doors, opposite to each other, in the manner of a vista, we went through the second room towards the third. Here the grey walked in first, beckoning me to attend. I waited in the second room, and got ready my presents for the master and mistress of the house, they were two knives, three bracelets of false pearl, a small looking-glass, and a bead necklace. The horse neighed three or four times, and I waited to hear some answers in a human voice, but I observed no other returns than in the same dialect, only one or two a little shriller than his. I began to think that this house must belong to some person of great note among them, because there appeared so much ceremony before I could gain admittance. But, that a man of quality should be served all by horses, was beyond my comprehension. I feared my brain was disturbed by my sufferings and misfortunes. I roused myself, and looked about me in the room where I was left alone, this was furnished like the first, only

after a more elegant manner I rubbed my eyes often, but the same objects still occurred I pinched my arms and sides to awake myself, hoping I might be in a dream I then absolutely concluded that all these appearances could be nothing else but necromancy and magic But I had no 5 time to pursue these reflections, for the grey horse came to the door, and made me a sign to follow him into the third room, where I saw a very comely mare, together with a colt and foal, sitting on their haunches upon mats of straw, not unartfully made and perfectly neat and clean 10

The mare, soon after my entrance, rose from her mat, and coming up close, after having nicely observed my hands and face, gave me a most contemptuous look, then turning to the horse, I heard the word *Yahoo* often repeated betwixt them, the meaning of which word I could not then comprehend, 15 although it were the first I had learned to pronounce But I was soon better informed, to my everlasting mortification, for the horse, beckoning to me with his head, and repeating the word *hhuun, hhuun*, as he did upon the road, which I understood was to attend him, led me out into a kind of court, 20 where was another building at some distance from the house Here we entered, and I saw three of these detestable creatures whom I first met after my landing, feeding upon roots and the flesh of some animals, which I afterwards found to be that of asses and dogs, and now and then 25 a cow, dead by accident or disease They were all tied by the neck with strong withes fastened to a beam, they held their food between the claws of their fore-feet, and tore it with their teeth.

The master horse ordered a sorrel nag, one of his servants, to untie the largest of these animals, and take him into the yard The beast and I were brought close together, and our countenances diligently compared, both by master and servant, who thereupon repeated several times the word

Yahoo My horror and astonishment are not to be described, when I observed, in this abominable animal, a perfect human figure, the face of it indeed was flat and broad, the nose depressed, the lips large, and the mouth
5 wide, but these differences are common to all savage nations, where the lineaments of the countenance are distorted by the natives suffering their infants to lie grovelling on the earth, or by carrying them on their backs, nuzzling with their face against the mother's shoulders The fore-
10 feet of the *Yahoo* differed from my hands in nothing else but the length of the nails, the coarseness and brownness of the palms, and the hairiness on the backs There was the same resemblance between our feet, with the same differences, which I knew very well, though the horses did not, because
15 of my shoes and stockings, the same in every part of our bodies, except as to hairiness and colour, which I have already described

The great difficulty that seemed to stick with the two horses was, to see the rest of my body so very different from
20 that of a *Yahoo*, for which I was obliged to my clothes, whereof they had no conception The sorrel nag offered me a root, which he held (after their manner, as we shall describe in its proper place) between his hoof and pastern I took it in my hand, and, having smelt it, returned it to
25 him again as civilly as I could He brought out of the *Yahoo's* kennel a piece of ass's flesh, but it smelt so offensively, that I turned from it with loathing He then threw it to the *Yahoo*, by whom it was greedily devoured He afterwards showed me a wisp of hay, and a fetlock full of
30 oats, but I shook my head, to signify that neither of these were food for me And indeed I now apprehended that I must absolutely starve, if I did not get to some of my own species; for as to those filthy *Yahoos*, although there were few greater lovers of mankind at that time than myself, yet

I confess I never saw any sensitive being so detestable on all accounts, and the more I came near them, the more hateful they grew, while I stayed in that country. This the master horse observed by my behaviour, and therefore sent the *Yahoo* back to his kennel. He then put his fore-hoof to his mouth, at which I was much surprised, although he did it with ease, and with a motion that appeared perfectly natural, and made other signs, to know what I would eat but I could not return him such an answer as he was able to apprehend, and if he had understood me, I did not see how it was possible to contrive any way for finding myself nourishment. While we were thus engaged, I observed a cow passing by, whereupon I pointed to her, and expressed a desire to let me go and milk her. This had its effect, for he led me back into the house, and ordered a mare-servant to open a room, where a good store of milk lay in earthen and wooden vessels, after a very orderly and cleanly manner. She gave me a large bowlful, of which I drank very heartily, and found myself well refreshed * * *

CHAPTER III

The Author studious to learn the Language. The Houyhnhnm his Master, assists in teaching him. He gives his Master a short Account of his Voyage.

My principal endeavour was to learn the language, which my master (for so I shall henceforth call him) and his children, and every servant of his house, were desirous to teach me. For they looked upon it as a prodigy that a brute animal should discover such marks of a rational creature. I pointed to everything, and inquired the name of it, which I wrote down in my journal-book when I was alone, and corrected my bad accent, by desiring those of the family to

pronounce it often In this employment a sorrel nag, one of the under servants, was very ready to assist me

In speaking, they pronounce through the nose and throat , and their language approaches nearest to the High Dutch, 5 or German, of any I know in Europe , but is much more graceful and significant The Emperor Charles V made almost the same observation, when he said, that if he were to speak to his horse, it should be in High Dutch

The curiosity and impatience of my master were so great, 10 that he spent many hours of his leisure to instruct me He was convinced (as he afterwards told me) that I must be a *Yahoo* , but my teachableness, civility, and cleanliness astonished him , which were qualities altogether so opposite to those animals He was most perplexed about my clothes, 15 reasoning sometimes with himself, whether they were a part of my body , for I never pulled them off till the family were asleep, and got them on before they waked in the morning My master was eager to learn from whence I came , how I acquired those appearances of reason which I discovered in 20 all my actions , and to know my story from my own mouth , which he hoped he should soon do, by the great proficiency I made in learning and pronouncing their words and sentences To help my memory, I formed all I learned into the English alphabet, and writ the words down, with the 25 translations This last, after some time, I ventured to do in my master's presence It cost me much trouble to explain to him what I was doing , for the inhabitants have not the least idea of books or literature

In about ten weeks time I was able to understand most 30 of his questions, and in three months could give him some tolerable answers * * *

Every day, when I waited on him, besides the trouble he was at in teaching, he would ask me several questions concerning myself, which I answered as well as I could , and

by these means he had already received some general ideas, though very imperfect. It would be tedious to relate the several steps by which I advanced to a more regular conversation, but the first account I gave of myself in any order and length was to this purpose

That I came from a very far country, as I already had attempted to tell him, with about fifty more of my own species, that we travelled upon the seas in a great hollow vessel made of wood, and larger than his honour's house. I described the ship to him in the best terms I could, and explained, by the help of my handkerchief displayed, how it was driven forward by the wind. That upon a quarrel among us, I was set on shore on this coast, where I walked forward, without knowing whither, till he delivered me from the persecution of those execrable *Yahoos*. He asked me, Who made the ship, and how it was possible that the *Houyhnhnms* of my country would leave it to the management of brutes? My answer was, That I durst proceed no further in my relation, unless he would give me his word and honour that he would not be offended, and then I would tell him the wonders I had so often promised. He agreed, and I went on, by assuring him that the ship was made by creatures like myself, who, in all the countries I had travelled, as well as in my own, were the only governing rational animals, and that, upon my arrival thither, I was as much astonished to see the *Houyhnhnms* act like rational beings, as he or his friends could be in finding some marks of reason in a creature he was pleased to call a *Yahoo*, to which I owned my resemblance in every part, but could not account for their degenerate and brutal nature. I said farther, That if good fortune ever restored me to my native country, to relate my travels hither, as I resolved to do, everybody would believe that I said the thing which was not, that I invented the story out of my own head, and,

(with all possible respect to himself, his family, and friends, and under his promise of not being offended,) our countrymen would hardly think it probable that a *Houyhnhnm* should be the presiding creature of a nation, and a *Yahoo*
5 the brute

CHAPTER IV

The Houyhnhnm's Notion of Truth and Falsehood The Author's Discourse disapproved by his Master The Author gives a more particular Account of himself, and the Accidents of his Voyage

My master heard me with great appearances of uneasiness in his countenance, because doubting, or not believing, are so little known in this country, that the inhabitants cannot tell how to behave themselves under such circumstances
10 And I remember, in frequent discourses with my master concerning the nature of manhood in other parts of the world, having occasion to talk of lying and false representation, it was with much difficulty that he comprehended what I meant, although he had otherwise a most acute
15 judgment For he argued thus That the use of speech was to make us understand one another, and to receive information of facts, now if any one said the thing which was not, these ends were defeated, because I cannot properly be said to understand him, and I am so far from
20 receiving information, that he leaves me worse than in ignorance, for I am led to believe a thing black, when it is white, and short, when it is long And these were all the notions he had concerning that faculty of lying, so perfectly well understood among human creatures
25 To return from this digression When I asserted that the *Yahoos* were the only governing animals in my country, which my master said was altogether past his conception,

he desired to know, Whether we had *Houyhnhnms* among us, and what was their employment I told him, we had great numbers, that in summer they grazed in the fields, and in winter were kept in houses with hay and oats, where *Yahoo* servants were employed to rub their skins smooth, 5 comb their manes, pick their feet, serve them with food, and make their beds I understand you well, said my master it is now very plain, from all you have spoken, that whatever share of reason the *Yahoos* pretend to, the *Houyhnhnms* are your masters I heartily wish our *Yahoos* 10 would be so tractable I begged his honour would please to excuse me from proceeding any farther, because I was very certain that the account he expected from me would be highly displeasing But he insisted in commanding me to let him know the best and the worst I told him he 15 should be obeyed I owned that the *Houyhnhnms* among us, whom we called horses, were the most generous and comely animal we had, that they excelled in strength and swiftness, and when they belonged to persons of quality, were employed in travelling, racing, or drawing chariots 20 they were treated with much kindness and care, till they fell into diseases, or became foundered in the feet, and then they were sold, and used to all kind of drudgery till they died, after which their skins were stripped, and sold for what they were worth, and their bodies left to be devoured 25 by dogs and birds of prey But the common race of horses had not so good fortune, being kept by farmers and carriers and other mean people, who put them to greater labour, and fed them worse I described, as well as I could, our way of riding, the shape and use of a bridle, a saddle, 30 a spur, and a whip, of harness and wheels I added, That we fastened plates of a certain hard substance called iron, at the bottom of their feet, to preserve their hoofs from being broken by the stony ways, on which we often travelled

My master, after some expressions of great indignation, wondered how we dared to venture upon a *Houyhnhnm's* back, for he was sure that the weakest servant in his house would be able to shake off the strongest *Yahoo*, or, by lying
5 down, and rolling on his back, squeeze the brute to death.

I answered, that our horses were trained up, from three or four years old, to the several uses we intended them for, that if any of them proved intolerably vicious, they were employed for carriages, that they were severely beaten,
10 while they were young, for any mischievous tricks, that they were indeed sensible of rewards and punishments, but his honour would please to consider, that they had not the least tincture of reason, any more than the *Yahoos* in this country.

15 It put me to the pains of many circumlocutions, to give my master a right idea of what I spoke, for their language doth not abound in variety of words, because their wants and passions are fewer than among us. But it is impossible to represent his noble resentment at our savage treatment of
20 the *Houyhnhnm* race. He said, If it were possible there could be any country where *Yahoos* alone were endued with reason, they certainly must be the governing animal, because reason will in time always prevail against brutal strength.

But, considering the frame of our bodies, and especially of
25 mine, he thought no creature of equal bulk was so ill contrived for employing that reason in the common offices of life, whereupon he desired to know whether those among whom I lived resembled me, or the *Yahoos* of his country.

I assured him, that I was as well shaped as most of my age,
30 but the younger, and the females, were much more soft and tender, and the skins of the latter generally as white as milk. He said, I differed indeed from other *Yahoos*, being much more cleanly, and not altogether so deformed, but, in point of real advantage, he thought I differed for the worse. That

my nails were of no use either to my fore or hinder feet
As to my fore-feet, he could not properly call them by that
name, for he never observed me to walk upon them, that
they were too soft to bear the ground, that I generally went
with them uncovered, neither was the covering I sometimes 5
wore on them of the same shape, or so strong as that on my
feet behind That I could not walk with any security, for if
either of my hinder feet slipped, I must inevitably fall He
then began to find fault with other parts of my body, the
flatness of my face, the prominence of my nose, my eyes 10
placed directly in front, so that I could not look on either
side without turning my head, that I was not able to feed
myself, without lifting one of my fore-feet to my mouth,
and therefore nature had placed those joints to answer that
necessity He knew not what could be the use of those 15
several clefts and divisions in my feet behind, that these
were too soft to bear the hardness and sharpness of stones,
without a covering made from the skin of some other brute,
that my whole body wanted a fence against heat and cold,
which I was forced to put on and off every day, with tedious- 20
ness and trouble And lastly, that he observed every animal
in this country naturally to abhor the *Yahoos*, whom the
weaker avoided, and the stronger drove from them So
that, supposing us to have the gift of reason, he could not
see how it were possible to cure that natural antipathy which 25
every creature discovered against us, nor consequently, how
we could tame and render them serviceable However, he
would, as he said, debate the matter no farther, because he
was more desirous to know my own story, the country where
*I was born, and the several actions and events of my life 30
before I came hither

I assured him how extremely desirous I was that he
should be satisfied in every point, but I doubted much
whether it would be possible for me to explain myself on

several subjects, whereof his honour could have no conception, because I saw nothing in his country to which I could resemble them, that, however, I would do my best, and strive to express myself by similitudes, humbly desiring his
5 assistance when I wanted proper words, which he was pleased to promise me

I said, My birth was of honest parents, in an island called England, which was remote from this country, as many days' journey as the strongest of his honour's servants could travel
10 in the annual course of the sun, that I was bred a surgeon, whose trade it is to cure wounds and hurts in the body, got by accident or violence, that my country was governed by a female man, whom we called a Queen, that I left it to get riches, whereby I might maintain myself and
15 family, when I should return, that in my last voyage, I was commander of the ship, and had about fifty *Yahoos* under me, many of which died at sea, and I was forced to supply them by others picked out from several nations, that our ship was twice in danger of being sunk, the first time by
20 a great storm, and the second by striking against a rock Here my master interposed, by asking me, How I could persuade strangers out of different countries to venture with me, after the losses I had sustained, and the hazards I had run I said, They were fellows of desperate fortunes, forced
25 to fly from the places of their birth on account of their poverty or their crimes * * *

During this discourse, my master was pleased to interrupt me several times I had made use of many circumlocutions in describing to him the nature of the several crimes for
30 which most of our crew had been forced to fly their country * This labour took up several days' conversation, before he was able to comprehend me He was wholly at a loss to know what could be the use or necessity of practising those vices To clear up which, I endeavoured to give him some

ideas of the desire of power and riches , of the terrible effects of lust, intemperance, malice, and envy All this I was forced to define and describe by putting of cases and making of suppositions After which, like one whose imagination was struck with something never seen or heard of before, he 5 would lift up his eyes with amazement and indignation Power, government, war, law, punishment, and a thousand other things, had no terms wherein that language could express them, which made the difficulty almost insuperable, to give my master any conception of what I meant But 10 being of an excellent understanding, much improved by contemplation and converse, he at last arrived at a competent knowledge of what human nature, in our parts of the world, is capable to perform, and desired I would give him some particular account of that land which we call Europe, 15 but especially of my own country

CHAPTER V

The Author, at his Master's Commands, informs him of the State of England The Causes of War among the Princes of Europe The Author begins to explain the English Constitution

THE reader may please to observe, that the following extract of many conversations I had with my master, contains a summary of the most material points which were discoursed at several times for above two years , his honour 20 often desiring fuller satisfaction, as I further improved in the *Houyhnhnm* tongue I laid before him, as well as I could, the whole state of Europe ; I discoursed of trade and manufactures, of arts and sciences , and the answers I gave to all the questions he made, as they arose upon 25 several subjects, were a fund of conversation not to be exhausted But I shall here only set down the substance

of what passed between us concerning my own country, reducing it into order as well as I can, without any regard to time or other circumstances, while I strictly adhere to truth. My only concern is, that I shall hardly be able to do justice
5 to my master's arguments and expressions, which must needs suffer by my want of capacity, as well as by a translation into our barbarous English

In obedience, therefore, to his honour's commands I related to him the Revolution under the Prince of Orange,
10 the long war with France, entered into by the said prince, and renewed by his successor, the present queen, wherein the greatest powers of Christendom were engaged, and which still continued. I computed, at his request, that about a million of *Yahoos* might have been killed in the whole progress of it, and perhaps a hundred or more cities taken,
15 and thrice as many ships burnt or sunk

He asked me, what were the usual causes or motives that made one country go to war with another. I answered they were innumerable, but I should only mention
20 a few of the chief. Sometimes the ambition of princes, who never think they have land or people enough to govern; sometimes the corruption of ministers, who engage their master in a war in order to stifle or divert the clamour of the subjects against their evil administration. Difference
25 in opinions hath cost many millions of lives: for instance, whether flesh be bread, or bread be flesh, whether the juice of a certain berry be blood or wine, whether whistling be a vice or a virtue, whether it be better to kiss a post or throw it into the fire, what is the best colour for a coat,
30 whether black, white, red, or gray, and whether it should be long or short, narrow or wide, dirty or clean, with many more. Neither are any wars so furious or bloody, or of so long continuance, as those occasioned by difference in opinion, especially if it be in things indifferent

Sometimes the quarrel between two princes is to decide which of them shall dispossess a third of his dominions, where neither of them pretend to any right. Sometimes one prince quarrelleth with another, for fear the other should quarrel with him. Sometimes a war is entered upon because the enemy is too strong, and sometimes because he is too weak. Sometimes our neighbours want the things which we have, or have the things which we want, and we both fight till they take ours, or give us theirs. It is a very justifiable cause of a war, to invade a country after the people have been wasted by famine, destroyed by pestilence, or embroiled by factions among themselves. It is justifiable to enter into war against our nearest ally, when one of his towns lies convenient for us, or a territory of land, that would render our dominions round and complete. If a prince sends forces into a nation where the people are poor and ignorant, he may lawfully put half of them to death, and make slaves of the rest, in order to civilize and reduce them from their barbarous way of living. It is a very kindly, honourable, and frequent practice, when one prince desires the assistance of another to secure him against an invasion, that the assistant, when he hath driven out the invader, should seize on the dominions himself, and kill, imprison, or banish the prince he came to relieve. Alliance by blood or marriage is a frequent cause of war between princes, and the nearer the kindred is, the greater is their disposition to quarrel. Poor nations are hungry, and rich nations are proud; and pride and hunger will ever be at variance. For these reasons, the trade of a soldier is held the most honourable of all others, because a soldier is a *Yahoo* hired to kill in cold blood, as many of his own species, who have never offended him, as possibly he can.

There is likewise a kind of beggarly princes in Europe, not able to make war by themselves, who hire out their

troops to richer nations, for so much a-day to each man , of which they keep three-fourths to themselves, and it is the best part of their maintenance Such are those in Germany and other northern parts of Europe

- 5 What you have told me (said my master) upon the subject of war, doth, indeed, discover most admirably the effects of that reason you pretend to however, it is happy that the shame is greater than the danger , and that nature hath left you utterly incapable of doing much mischief
- 10 For your mouths lying flat with your faces, you can hardly bite each other to any purpose, unless by consent Then, as to the claws upon your feet, before and behind, they are so short and tender, that one of our *Yahoos* would drive a dozen of yours before him And therefore, in re-
- 15 counting the numbers of those who have been killed in battle, I cannot but think that you have said the thing which is not

I could not forbear shaking my head, and smiling a little at his ignorance And being no stranger to the art of war,

20 I gave him a description of cannons, culverins, muskets, carabines, pistols, bullets, powder, swords, bayonets, battles, sieges, retreats, attacks, undermines, countermines, bombardments, sea-fights, ships sunk with a thousand men, twenty thousand killed on each side, dying groans, limbs

25 flying in the air, smoke, noise, confusion, trampling to death under horses' feet, flight, pursuit, victory , fields strewed with carcases, left for food to dogs, and wolves, and birds of prey , plundering, stripping, ravishing, burning, and destroying And to set forth the valour of my own dear

30 countrymen, I assured him, that I had seen them blow up a hundred enemies at once in a siege, and as many in a ship , and beheld the dead bodies come down in pieces from the clouds, to the great diversion of the spectators

I was going on to more particulars, when my master

commanded me silence. He said, Whoever understood the nature of *Yahoos*, might easily believe it possible for so vile an animal to be capable of every action I had named, if their strength and cunning equalled their malice. But as my discourse had increased his abhorrence of the whole 5 species, so he found it gave him a disturbance in his mind to which he was wholly a stranger before. He thought his ears, being used to such abominable words, might, by degrees, admit them with less detestation. That although he hated the *Yahoos* of this country, yet he no more blamed 10 them for their odious qualities, than he did a *gunayh* (a bird of prey) for its cruelty, or a sharp stone for cutting his hoof. But when a creature pretending to reason could be capable of such enormities, he dreaded lest the corruption of that faculty might be worse than brutality itself. He seemed 15 therefore confident, that instead of reason, we were only possessed of some quality fitted to increase our natural vices, as the reflection from a troubled stream returns the image of an ill-shapen body, not only larger, but more distorted 20

He added, That he had heard too much upon the subject of war, both in this and some former discourses. There was another point which a little perplexed him at present. I had informed him that some of our crew left their 25 country on account of being ruined by law, that I had already explained the meaning of the word, but he was at a loss how it should come to pass, that the law, which was intended for every man's preservation, should be any man's ruin. Therefore he desired to be farther satisfied what I meant by law, and the dispensers thereof, according to the 30 present practice in my own country, because he thought nature and reason were sufficient guides for a reasonable animal, as we pretended to be, in shewing us what we ought to do, and what to avoid.

I assured his honour, that law was a science wherein I had not much conversed, further than by employing advocates, in vain, upon some injustices that had been done me however, I would give him all the satisfaction I was able

5 I said, there was a society of men among us, bred up from their youth in the art of proving by words multiplied for the purpose that white is black, and black is white, according as they are paid To this society all the rest of the people are slaves For example, if my neighbour hath
10 a mind to my cow, he hires a lawyer to prove that he ought to have my cow from me I must then hire another to defend my right, it being against all rules of law that any man should be allowed to speak for himself Now in this case, I who am the right owner lie under two great dis-
15 advantages First, my lawyer being practised almost from his cradle in defending falsehood, is quite out of his element when he would be an advocate for justice, which as an office unnatural he always attempts with ill-will The second disadvantage is, that my lawyer must proceed with
20 great caution, or else he will be reprimanded by the judges, and abhorred by his brethren as one that would lessen the practice of the law And therefore I have but two methods to preserve my cow The first is to gain over my adversary's lawyer with a double fee, who will then betray his
25 client by insinuating that he hath justice on his side The second way is for my lawyer to make my cause appear as unjust as he can, by allowing the cow to belong to my adversary and this, if it be skilfully done, will certainly bespeak the favour of the bench. Now, your honour is to
30 know that these judges are persons appointed to decide all controversies of property, as well as for the trial of criminals, and picked out from the most dexterous lawyers who are grown old or lazy, and having been biassed all their lives against truth and equity are under such a fatal neces-

sity of favouring fraud, perjury, and oppression, that I have known several of them refuse a large bribe from the side where justice lay, rather than injure the faculty, by doing anything unbecoming their nature or their office

It is a maxim among these lawyers, that whatever hath been done before, may legally be done again, and therefore they take special care to record all the decisions formerly made against common justice and the general reason of mankind. These, under the name of precedents, they produce as authorities to justify the most iniquitous opinions, and the judges never fail of decreeing accordingly

In pleading, they studiously avoid entering into the merits of the cause, but are loud, violent, and tedious in dwelling upon all circumstances which are not to the purpose. For instance, in the case already mentioned, they never desire to know what claim or title my adversary hath to my cow, but whether the said cow were red or black, her horns long or short, whether the field I graze her in be round or square, whether she was milked at home or abroad, what diseases she is subject to, and the like, after which they consult precedents, adjourn the cause from time to time, and in ten, twenty, or thirty years come to an issue

It is likewise to be observed, that this society hath a peculiar cant and jargon of their own, that no other mortal can understand, and wherein all their laws are written, which they take special care to multiply, whereby they have wholly confounded the very essence of truth and falsehood, of right and wrong, so that it will take thirty years to decide whether the field left me by my ancestors for six generations, belongs to me, or to a stranger three hundred miles off

In the trial of persons accused for crimes against the state, the method is much more short and commendable: the judge first sends to sound the disposition of those in

power, after which he can easily hang or save the criminal, strictly preserving all due forms of law

Here my master interposing, said, it was a pity that creatures endowed with such prodigious abilities of mind, as
5 these lawyers, by the description I gave of them, must certainly be, were not rather encouraged to be instructors of others in wisdom and knowledge In answer to which I assured his honour, that in all points out of their own trade they were the most ignorant and stupid generation among
10 us, the most despicable in common conversation, avowed enemies to all knowledge and learning and equally disposed to pervert the general reason of mankind in every other subject of discourse as in that of their own profession * * *

CHAPTER VII

The Author's great Love of his Native Country His Master's Observations upon the Constitution and Administration of England, as described by the Author

15 THE reader may be disposed to wonder how I could prevail on myself to give so free a representation of my own species, among a race of mortals who are already too apt to conceive the vilest opinion of human kind, from that entire congruity between me and their *Yahoos* But I must freely
20 confess, that the many virtues of those excellent quadrupeds, placed in opposite view to human corruptions, had so far opened my eyes, and enlarged my understanding, that I began to view the actions and passions of man in a very different light, and to think the honour of my own kind not
25 worth managing, which, besides, it was impossible for me to do, before a person of so acute a judgment as my master, who daily convinced me of a thousand faults in myself, whereof I had not the least perception before, and which,

among us, would never be numbered, even among human infirmities I had likewise learned, from his example, an utter detestation of all falsehood or disguise, and truth appeared so amiable to me, that I determined upon sacrificing everything to it

5

Let me deal so candidly with the reader, as to confess that there was yet a much stronger motive for the freedom I took in my representation of things I had not been a year in this country, before I contracted such a love and veneration for the inhabitants, that I entered on a firm 10 resolution never to return to human kind, but to pass the rest of my life among these admirable *Houyhnhnms*, in the contemplation and practice of every virtue, where I could have no example or incitement to vice But it was decreed by fortune, my perpetual enemy, that so great a felicity 15 should not fall to my share However, it is now some comfort to reflect, that in what I said of my countrymen, I extenuated their faults as much as I durst before so strict an examiner, and upon every article gave as favourable a turn as the matter would bear For indeed, who is there 20 alive that will not be swayed by his bias and partiality to the place of his birth?

I have related the substance of several conversations I had with my master during the greatest part of the time I had the honour to be in his service, but have, indeed, for brevity 25 sake, omitted much more than is here set down.

When I had answered all his questions, and his curiosity seemed to be fully satisfied, he sent for me one morning early, and commanding me to sit down at some distance (an honour which he had never before conferred upon me) 30 he said, he had been very seriously considering my whole story, as far as it related both to myself and my country, that he looked upon us as a sort of animals to whose share, by what accident he could not conjecture, some small

pittance of reason had fallen, whereof we made no other use, than, by its assistance, to aggravate our natural corruptions, and to acquire new ones which Nature had not given us, that we disarmed ourselves of the few abilities she had bestowed, had been very successful in multiplying our original wants, and seemed to spend our whole lives in vain endeavours to supply them by our own inventions, that as to myself, it was manifest I had neither the strength nor agility of a common *Yahoo*, that I walked infirmly on my hinder feet, had found out a contrivance to make my claws of no use or defence, and to remove the hair from my chin, which was intended as a shelter from the sun and the weather. Lastly, that I could neither run with speed, nor climb trees like my brethren, as he called them, the *Yahoos* in this country

That our institutions of government and law were plainly owing to our gross defects in reason, and by consequence in virtue, because reason alone is sufficient to govern a rational creature, which was therefore a character we had no pretence to challenge, even from the account I had given of my own people; although he manifestly perceived, that in order to favour them, I had concealed many particulars, and often said the thing which was not

He was the more confirmed in this opinion, because he observed, that as I agreed in every feature of my body with other *Yahoos*, except where it was to my real disadvantage in point of strength, speed, and activity, the shortness of my claws, and some other particulars where nature had no part, so, from the representation I had given him of our lives, our manners, and our actions, he found as near a resemblance in the disposition of our minds. He said the *Yahoos* were known to hate one another more than they did any different species of animals, and the reason usually assigned was, the odiousness of their own shapes, which all could see in the

rest, but not in themselves. He had, therefore, begun to think it not unwise in us to cover our bodies, and by that invention conceal many of our deformities from each other, which would else be hardly supportable. But he now found he had been mistaken, and that the dissensions of those 5 brutes in his country were owing to the same cause with ours, as I had described them. For if, said he, you throw among five *Yahoos* as much food as would be sufficient for fifty, they will, instead of eating peaceably, fall together by the ears, each single one impatient to have all to itself, 10 and therefore a servant was usually employed to stand by while they were feeding abroad, and those kept at home were tied at a distance from each other, that if a cow died of age or accident, before a *Houyhnhnm* could secure it for his own *Yahoos*, those in the neighbourhood would come 15 in herds to seize it, and then would ensue such a battle as I had described, with terrible wounds made by their claws on both sides, although they seldom were able to kill one another, for want of such convenient instruments of death as we had invented. At other times the like battles have 20 been fought between the *Yahoos* of several neighbourhoods, without any visible cause, those of one district watching all opportunities to surprise the next, before they are prepared. But if they find their project hath miscarried, they return home, and for want of enemies, engage in what I call a civil 25 war among themselves.

That in some fields of his country there are certain shining stones of several colours, whereof the *Yahoos* are violently fond, and when part of these stones is fixed in the earth, as it sometimes happeneth, they will dig with their 30 claws for whole days to get them out, then carry them away, and hide them by heaps in their kennels, but still looking round with great caution, for fear their comrades should find out their treasure. My master said, he could never discover

the reason of this unnatural appetite, or how these stones could be of any use to a *Yahoo*, but now he believed it might proceed from the same principle of avarice which I had ascribed to mankind that he had once, by way of
5 experiment, privately removed a heap of these stones from the place where one of his *Yahoos* had buried it, whereupon the sordid animal, missing his treasure, by his loud lamenting brought the whole herd to the place, there miserably howled, then fell to biting and tearing the rest, began to
10 pine away, would neither eat, nor sleep, nor work, till he ordered a servant privately to convey the stones into the same hole, and hide them as before, which, when his *Yahoo* had found, he presently recovered his spirits and good humour, but took care to remove them to a better hiding-
15 place, and hath ever since been a very serviceable brute

My master further assured me, which I also observed myself, that in the fields where these shining stones abound, the fiercest and most frequent battles are fought, occasioned by perpetual inroads of the neighbouring *Yahoos*
20 He said, It was common, when two *Yahoos* discovered such a stone in a field, and were contending which of them should be the proprietor, a third would take the advantage, and carry it away from them both, which my master would needs contend to have some kind of resemblance with our
25 suits at law, wherein I thought it for our credit not to undeceive him, since the decision he mentioned was much more equitable than many decrees among us, because the plaintiff and defendant there lost nothing besides the stone they contended for, whereas our courts of equity would
30 never have dismissed the cause, while either of them had anything left * * *

CHAPTER VIII

The great Virtues of the Houyhnhnms The Education and
Exercise of their Youth

* * * HAVING lived three years in this country, the reader, I suppose, will expect that I should, like other travellers, give him some account of the manners and customs of its inhabitants, which it was indeed my principal study to learn

5

As these noble *Houyhnhnms* are endowed by nature with a general disposition to all virtues, and have no conceptions or ideas of what is evil in a rational creature, so their grand maxim is, to cultivate reason, and to be wholly governed by it. Neither is reason among them a point problematical, as 10 with us, where men can argue with plausibility on both sides of the question, but strikes you with immediate conviction, as it must needs do where it is not mingled, obscured or discoloured by passion and interest. I remember it was with extreme difficulty that I could bring my master to 15 understand the meaning of the word *opinion*, or how a point could be disputable, because reason taught us to affirm or deny only where we are certain, and beyond our knowledge we cannot do either. so that controversies, wranglings, disputes, and positiveness, in false or dubious 20 propositions, are evils unknown among the *Houyhnhnms*. In the like manner when I used to explain to him our several systems of natural philosophy, he would laugh, that a creature pretending to reason should value itself upon the knowledge of other people's conjectures, and in things where 25 that knowledge, if it were certain, could be of no use. Wherein he agreed entirely with the sentiments of Socrates, as Plato delivers them, which I mention as the highest honour I can do that prince of philosophers. I have

often since reflected what destruction such a doctrine would make in the libraries of Europe, and how many paths to fame would be then shut up in the learned world

Friendship and benevolence are the two principal virtues among the *Houyhnhnms*, and these not confined to particular objects, but universal to the whole race. For a stranger from the remotest part, is equally treated with the nearest neighbour, and wherever he goes, looks upon himself as at home. They preserve decency and civility in the highest degrees, but are altogether ignorant of ceremony. They have no fondness for their colts or foals, but the care they take in educating them proceeds entirely from the dictates of reason. And I observed my master to shew the same affection to his neighbour's issue that he had for his own. They will have it that nature teaches them to love the whole species, and it is reason only that maketh a distinction of persons, where there is a superior degree of virtue * * *

In educating the youth of both sexes their method is admirable, and highly deserves our imitation. These are not suffered to taste a grain of oats, except upon certain days, till eighteen years old, nor milk, but very rarely, and in summer they graze two hours in the morning, and as long in the evening, which their parents likewise observe. But the servants are not allowed above half that time, and a great part of their grass is brought home, which they eat at the most convenient hours, when they can be best spared from work.

Temperance, industry, exercise, and cleanliness, are the lessons usually enjoined to the young ones of both sexes, and my master thought it monstrous in us to give the females a different kind of education from the males, except in some articles of domestic management, whereby, as he truly observed, one half of our natives were good for nothing

but bringing children into the world, and to trust the care of our children to such useless animals, he said, was yet a greater instance of brutality

But the *Houyhnhnms* train up their youth to strength, speed, and hardiness, by exercising them in running races 5 up and down steep hills, and over hard stony grounds, and when they are all in a sweat, they are ordered to leap over head and ears into a pond or a river Four times a-year the youth of a certain district meet to shew their proficiency in running and leaping, and other feats of strength and agility, 10 where the victor is rewarded with a song made in his or her praise On this festival the servants drive a herd of *Yahoos* into the field, laden with hay, and oats, and milk, for a repast to the *Houyhnhnms*, after which, these brutes are immediately driven back again, for fear of being noisome to 15 the assembly * * *

CHAPTER IX

The Learning of the Houyhnhnms Their Manner of Burials

* * * The *Houyhnhnms* have no letters, and consequently their knowledge is all traditional, but there happening few events of any moment among a people so well united, naturally disposed to every virtue, wholly governed 20 by reason, and cut off from all commerce with other nations, the historical part is easily preserved without burthening their memories I have already observed that they are subject to no diseases, and therefore can have no need of physicians However, they have excellent medicines com- 25 posed of herbs, to cure accidental bruises and cuts in the pastern or frog of the foot by sharp stones, as well as other maims and hurts in the several parts of the body

They calculate the year by the revolution of the sun and the moon, but use no subdivisions into weeks They are 30

well enough acquainted with the motions of those two luminaries, and understand the nature of eclipses, and this is the utmost progress of their astronomy

In poetry they must be allowed to excel all other mortals, 5 wherein the justness of their similes, and the minuteness, as well as exactness, of their descriptions, are indeed inimitable Their verses abound very much in both of these, and usually contain either some exalted notions of friendship and benevolence, or the praises of those who were victors in 10 races and other bodily exercises * * *

If they can avoid casualties, they die only of old age, and are buried in the obscurest places that can be found, their friends and relations expressing neither joy nor grief at their departure, nor does the dying person discover the least 15 regret that he is leaving the world, any more than if he were upon returning home from a visit to one of his neighbours I remember my master having once made an appointment with a friend and his family to come to his house, upon some affair of importance, on the day fixed, the mistress 20 and her two children came very late, she made two excuses, first for her husband, who, as she said, happened that very morning to *Shnuwnh* The word is strongly expressive in their language, but not easily rendered into English It signifies, 'to retire to his first mother' Her 25 excuse for not coming sooner was, that her husband dying late in the morning, she was a good while consulting her servants about a convenient place where his body should be laid, and I observed she behaved herself at our house as cheerfully as the rest, and died about three months after.

30 They live generally to seventy, or seventy-five years, very seldom to fourscore Some weeks before their death they feel a gradual decay, but without pain During this time they are much visited by their friends, because they cannot go abroad with their usual ease and satisfaction. How-

ever, about ten days before their death, which they seldom fail in computing, they return the visits that have been made them by those who are nearest in the neighbourhood, being carried in a convenient sledge drawn by *Yahoos*, which vehicle they use, not only upon this occasion, but when 5 they grow old, upon long journeys, or when they are lamed by any accident. And therefore when the dying *Houyhnhnms* return those visits, they take a solemn leave of their friends, as if they were going to some remote part of the country, where they designed to pass the rest of their 10 lives * * *

CHAPTER X

The Author's Economy and happy Life among the Houyhnhnms
The Author has notice given him by his Master that he must depart from the Country. He falls into a Swoon for Grief, but submits. He contrives and finishes a Canoe by the help of a Fellow-Servant, and puts to Sea at a Venture.

I HAD settled my little economy to my own heart's content. My master had ordered a room to be made for me, after their manner, about six yards from the house, the sides and floors of which I plastered with clay, and covered with 15 rush-mats of my own contriving. I had beaten hemp, which there grows wild, and made of it a sort of ticking; this I filled with the feathers of several birds I had taken with springes made of *Yahoos'* hairs, and were excellent food. I had worked two chairs with my knife, the sorrel 20 nag helping me in the grosser and more laborious part. When my clothes were worn to rags, I made myself others with the skins of rabbits, and of a certain beautiful animal about the same size, called *nmuhnoh*, the skin of which is covered with a fine down. Of these likewise I made very 25 tolerable stockings. I soled my shoes with wood, which I cut from a tree, and fitted to the upper-leather, and when

this was worn out, I supplied it with the skins of *Yahoos* dried in the sun I often got honey out of hollow trees, which I mingled with water, or ate with my bread No man could more verify the truth of these two maxims, 5 'That nature is very easily satisfied,' and, 'That necessity is the mother of invention' I enjoyed perfect health of body and tranquillity of mind, I did not find the treachery or inconstancy of a friend, nor the injuries of a secret or open enemy, I had no occasion of bribing, flattering, or 10 pimping, to procure the favour of any great man or of his minion I wanted no fence against fraud or oppression Here was neither physician to destroy my body, nor lawyer to ruin my fortune, no informer to watch my words and actions, or forge accusations against me for hire here were 15 no gibbers, censurers, backbiters, pickpockets, highwaymen, housebreakers, attorneys, buffoons, gamesters, politicians, wits, splenetics, tedious talkers, controvertists, ravishers, murderers, robbers, virtuosos, no leaders or followers of party and faction, no encouragers to vice, by seducement or 20 examples, no dungeons, axes, gibbets, whipping-posts, or pillories, no cheating shop-keepers or mechanics, no pride, vanity, or affectation, no fops, bullies, drunkards, no ranting, expensive wives, no stupid, proud pedants, no importunate, over-bearing, quarrelsome, noisy, roaring, 25 empty, conceited, swearing companions, no scoundrels raised from the dust for the sake of their vices, or nobility thrown into it on account of their virtues, no lords, fiddlers, judges or dancing-masters * * *

In the midst of all this happiness, and when I looked 30 upon myself to be fully settled for life, my master sent for me one morning a little earlier than his usual hour I observed by his countenance that he was in some perplexity, and at a loss how to begin what he had to speak After a short silence, he told me, he did not know how I

would take what he was going to say That in the last general assembly, when the affair of the *Yahoos* was entered upon, the representatives had taken offence at his keeping a *Yahoo* (meaning myself) in his family more like a *Houyhnhnm* than a brute animal That he was known frequently 5 to converse with me, as if he could receive some advantage or pleasure in my company, that such a practice was not agreeable to reason or nature, nor a thing ever heard of before among them The assembly did therefore exhort him, either to employ me like the rest of my species, or command me to swim back to the place from whence I came That the first of these expedients was utterly rejected by all the *Houyhnhnms* who had ever seen me at his house or their own, for they alleged, that because I had some rudiments of reason added to the natural pravity of those 15 animals, it was to be feared I might be able to seduce them into the woody and mountainous parts of the country, and bring them in troops by night to destroy the *Houyhnhnms'* cattle, as being naturally of the ravenous kind, and averse from labour 20

My master added, That he was daily pressed by the *Houyhnhnms* of the neighbourhood to have the assembly's exhortation executed, which he could not put off much longer He doubted it would be impossible for me to swim to another country, and therefore wished I would contrive 25 some sort of vehicle, resembling those I had described to him, that might carry me on the sea, in which work I should have the assistance of his own servants, as well as those of his neighbours He concluded, That for his own part he could have been content to keep me in his service 30 as long as I lived, because he found I had cured myself of some bad habits and dispositions, by endeavouring, as far as my inferior nature was capable, to imitate the *Houyhnhnms* * * *

I was struck with the utmost grief and despair at my master's discourse, and being unable to support the agonies I was under, I fell into a swoon at his feet. When I came to myself, he told me, that he concluded I had been dead, 5 for these people are subject to no such imbecilities of nature. I answered in a faint voice, That death would have been too great an happiness, that although I could not blame the assembly's exhortation, or the urgency of his friends, yet, in my weak and corrupt judgment, I thought it 10 might consist with reason to have been less rigorous, that I could not swim a league, and probably the nearest land to theirs might be distant above an hundred, that many materials, necessary for making a small vessel to carry me off, were wholly wanting in this country, which, however, I 15 would attempt, in obedience and gratitude to his honour, although I concluded the thing to be impossible, and therefore looked on myself as already devoted to destruction. That the certain prospect of an unnatural death was the least of my evils, for supposing I should escape with life, by 20 some strange adventure, how could I think with temper of passing my days among *Yahoos*, and relapsing into my old corruptions, for want of examples to lead and keep me within the paths of virtue. That I knew too well upon what solid reasons all the determinations of the wise *Houyhnhnms* 25 were founded, not to be shaken by arguments of mine, a miserable *Yahoo*, and therefore, after presenting him with my humble thanks for the offer of his servants' assistance in making a vessel, and desiring a reasonable time for so difficult a work, I told him I would endeavour to preserve 30 a wretched being, and if ever I returned to England, was not without hopes of being useful to my own species, by celebrating the praises of the renowned *Houyhnhnms*, and proposing their virtues to the imitation of mankind.

My master, in a few words, made me a very gracious

reply, allowed me the space of two months to finish my boat, and ordered the sorrel nag, my fellow-servant, (for so, at this distance, I may presume to call him,) to follow my instructions, because I told my master that his help would be sufficient, and I knew he had a tenderness for me * *

I returned home, and consulting with the sorrel nag, we went into a copse at some distance, where I with my knife, and he with a sharp flint fastened very artificially, after their manner, to a wooden handle, cut down several oak wattles about the thickness of a walking-staff, and some larger pieces. But I shall not trouble the reader with a particular description of my own mechanics. let it suffice to say, that in six weeks time, with the help of the sorrel nag, who performed the parts that required most labour, I finished a sort of Indian canoe, but much larger, covering it with the skins of *Yahoos*, well stitched together with hempen threads of my own making. My sail was likewise composed of the skins of the same animal, but I made use of the youngest I could get, the older being too tough and thick, and I likewise provided myself with four paddles. I laid in a stock of boiled flesh, of rabbits and fowls, and took with me two vessels, one filled with milk, and the other with water.

I tried my canoe in a large pond near my master's house, and then corrected in it what was amiss, stopping all the chinks with *Yahoos'* tallow, till I found it staunch, and able to bear me and my freight. And when it was as complete as I could possibly make it, I had it drawn on a carriage very gently by *Yahoos* to the seaside, under the conduct of the sorrel nag and another servant

When all was ready, and the day came for my departure, I took leave of my master and lady, and the whole family, my eyes flowing with tears, and my heart quite sunk with grief. But his honour, out of curiosity, and perhaps (if I

may speak it without vanity,) partly out of kindness, was determined to see me in my canoe, and got several of his neighbouring friends to accompany him I was forced to wait above an hour for the tide, and then observing the
5 wind very fortunately bearing towards the island to which I intended to steer my course, I took a second leave of my master, but as I was going to prostrate myself to kiss his hoof, he did me the honour to raise it gently to my mouth I am not ignorant how much I have been censured
10 for mentioning this last particular For my detractors are pleased to think it improbable that so illustrious a person should descend to give so great a mark of distinction to a creature so inferior as I Neither have I forgot how apt some travellers are to boast of extraordinary favours they
15 have received But if these censurers were better acquainted with the noble and courteous disposition of the *Houyhnhnms*, they would soon change their opinion

I paid my respects to the rest of the *Houyhnhnms* in his honour's company, then getting into my canoe, I pushed off
20 from shore * * *

HINTS TOWARD AN ESSAY ON CONVERSATION

No selection would be typical of Swift's work which did not include at least one specimen of his manner of treating questions that lie on the surface of social intercourse. He has left us several examples of the kind and the following is certainly not the least successful and characteristic. In none is Swift's prose style more absolutely simple, clear, and yet unlaboured. The strain of partizan-ship is entirely absent, there is none of the bitterness of indignation which gives a white-heat to so many of his writings. The under-current of humour is present, but its sarcastic force is kept half concealed by a studied politeness. The fundamental contempt for his kind is never lost, but he assumes a certain serene complacency of manner, so as to give additional point to his own maxims on social intercourse. These maxims are so obvious, nay, even so trite, that their enumeration appears almost useless. It is only the extreme rarity with which they are practised that gives to Swift's well-balanced statement its freshness and its force. His nice appreciation of social requirements explains how, in spite of all his pride and masterfulness, he was so cherished as a companion and a friend.

I HAVE observed few obvious subjects to have been so seldom, or at least so slightly, handled as this, and indeed I know few so difficult to be treated as it ought, nor yet, upon which there seems so much to be said.

Most things pursued by men for the happiness of pub- 5
lic or private life, our wit or folly have so refined, that they seldom subsist but in idea, a true friend, a good marriage, a perfect form of government, with some others, require so many ingredients, so good in their several

kinds, and so much niceness in mixing them, that for some thousands of years men have despaired of reducing their schemes to perfection but, in conversation, it is, or might be otherwise, for here we are only to avoid a
5 multitude of errors, which, although a matter of some difficulty, may be in every man's power, for want of which it remains as mere an idea as the other Therefore it seems to me, that the truest way to understand conversation, is to know the faults and errors to which
10 it is subject, and from thence every man to form maxims to himself whereby it may be regulated, because it requires few talents to which most men are not born, or at least may not acquire, without any great genius or study For nature has left every man a capacity of
15 being agreeable, though not of shining in company, and there are a hundred men sufficiently qualified for both, who, by a very few faults, that they might correct in half an hour, are not so much as tolerable

I was prompted to write my thoughts upon this subject by mere indignation, to reflect that so useful and
20 innocent a pleasure, so fitted for every period and condition of life, and so much in all men's power, should be so much neglected and abused

And in this discourse it will be necessary to note those
25 errors that are obvious, as well as others which are seldomer observed, since there are few so obvious, or acknowledged, into which most men, some time or other, are not apt to run

For instance nothing is more generally exploded than
30 the folly of talking too much, yet I rarely remember to have seen five people together, where some one among them has not been predominant in that kind, to the great constraint and disgust of all the rest But among such as deal in multitudes of words, none are comparable

to the sober deliberate talker, who proceeds with much thought and caution, makes his preface, branches out into several digressions, finds a hint that puts him in mind of another story, which he promises to tell you when this is done, comes back regularly to his subject, 5 cannot readily call to mind some person's name, holding his head, complains of his memory, the whole company all this while in suspense, at length says, it is no matter, and so goes on. And, to crown the business, it perhaps proves at last a story the company has heard 10 fifty times before, or, at best, some insipid adventure of the relater.

Another general fault in conversation, is that of those who affect to talk of themselves, some, without any ceremony, will run over the history of their lives, will 15 relate the annals of their diseases, with the several symptoms and circumstances of them, will enumerate the hardships and injustice they have suffered in court, in parliament, in love, or in law. Others are more dexterous, and with great art will lie on the watch to hook in 20 their own praise, they will call a witness to remember they always foretold what would happen in such a case, but none would believe them, they advised such a man from the beginning, and told him the consequences, just as they happened, but he would have his own way. Others make 25 a vanity of telling their faults, they are the strangest men in the world, they cannot dissemble, they own it is a folly, they have lost abundance of advantages by it, but if you would give them the world, they cannot help it, there is something in their nature that abhors insincerity and 30 constraint, with many other insufferable topics of the same altitude.

Of such mighty importance every man is to himself, and ready to think he is so to others, without once making this

easy and obvious reflection, that his affairs can have no more weight with other men, than theirs have with him, and how little that is, he is sensible enough

Where a company has met, I often have observed two
5 persons discover, by some accident, that they were bred together at the same school or university, after which the rest are condemned to silence, and to listen while these two are refreshing each other's memory, with the arch tricks and passages of themselves and their comrades

10 I know a great officer of the army, who will sit for some time with a supercilious and impatient silence, full of anger and contempt for those who are talking, at length, of a sudden, demanding audience, decide the matter in a short dogmatical way, then withdraw within himself again, and
15 vouchsafe to talk no more, until his spirits circulate again to the same point

There are some faults in conversation, which none are so subject to as the men of wit, nor ever so much as when they are with each other. If they have opened their mouths,
20 without endeavouring to say a witty thing, they think it is so many words lost. It is a torment to the hearers, as much as to themselves, to see them upon the rack for invention, and in perpetual constraint, with so little success. They must do something extraordinary, in order to acquit themselves,
25 and answer their character, else the standers-by may be disappointed, and be apt to think them only like the rest of mortals. I have known two men of wit industriously brought together, in order to entertain the company, where they have made a very ridiculous figure, and provided all
30 the mirth at their own expense

I know a man of wit, who is never easy but where he can be allowed to dictate and preside. He neither expects to be informed or entertained, but to display his own talents. His business is to be good company, and not good conversation,

and therefore he chooses to frequent those who are content to listen and profess themselves his admirers And, indeed, the worst conversation I ever remember to have heard in my life, was that at Will's coffeehouse, where the wits (as they were called) used formerly to assemble, that is to say, 5 five or six men who had writ plays, or at least prologues, or had share in a miscellany, came thither, and entertained one another with their trifling composures, in so important an air, as if they had been the noblest efforts of human nature, or that the fate of kingdoms depended on them, and they 10 were usually attended with an humble audience of young students from the inns of court, or the universities, who, at due distance, listened to these oracles, and returned home with great contempt for their law and philosophy, their heads filled with trash, under the name of politeness, 15 criticism, and *belles lettres*

By these means, the poets, for many years past, were all overrun with pedantry For, as I take it, the word is not properly used, because pedantry is the too frequent or unseasonable obtruding our own knowledge in common 20 discourse, and placing too great a value upon it, by which definition, men of the court, or the army, may be as guilty of pedantry, as a philosopher or a divine, and it is the same vice in women, when they are over copious upon the subject of their petticoats, or their fans, or their china For which 25 reason, although it be a piece of prudence, as well as good manners, to put men upon talking on subjects they are best versed in, yet that is a liberty a wise man could hardly take, because, beside the imputation of pedantry, it is what he would never improve by 30

The great town is usually provided with some player, mimic, or buffoon, who has a general reception at the good tables, familiar and domestic with persons of the first quality, and usually sent for at every meeting to divert the

company, against which I have no objection. You go there as to a farce or a puppetshow, your business is only to laugh in season, either out of inclination or civility, while this merry companion is acting his part. It is a business he
5 has undertaken, and we are to suppose he is paid for his day's work. I only quarrel, when, in select and private meetings, where men of wit and learning are invited to pass an evening, this jester should be admitted to run over his circle of tricks, and make the whole company unfit for any
10 other conversation, beside the indignity of confounding men's talents at so shameful a rate.

Raillery is the finest part of conversation, but, as it is our usual custom to counterfeit and adulterate whatever is too dear for us,¹ so we have done with this, and turned it all
15 into what is generally called repartee, or being smart, just as when an expensive fashion comes up, those who are not able to reach it, content themselves with some paltry imitation. It now passes for raillery to run a man down in discourse, to put him out of countenance, and make him
20 ridiculous, sometimes to expose the defects of his person or understanding; on all which occasions, he is obliged not to be angry, to avoid the imputation of not being able to take a jest. It is admirable to observe one who is dexterous at this art, singling out a weak adversary, getting the laugh
25 on his side, and then carrying all before him. The French, from whence we borrow the word, have a quite different idea of the thing, and so had we in the politer age of our fathers. Raillery, was to say something that at first appeared a reproach or reflection, but, by some turn of wit, unexpected
30 and surprising, ended always in a compliment, and to the advantage of the person it was addressed to. And surely one of the best rules in conversation is, never to say a thing which any of the company can reasonably wish we had rather left unsaid, nor can there anything be well more

contrary to the ends for which people meet together, than to part unsatisfied with each other or themselves

There are two faults in conversation, which appear very different, yet arise from the same root, and are equally blameable, I mean an impatience to interrupt others, and the uneasiness of being interrupted ourselves. The two chief ends of conversation are to entertain and improve those we are among, or to receive those benefits ourselves, which whoever will consider, cannot easily run into either of these two errors, because, when any man speaks in company, it is to be supposed he does it for his hearers' sake, and not his own, so that common discretion will teach us not to force their attention, if they are not willing to lend it, nor, on the other side, to interrupt him who is in possession, because that is in the grossest manner to give the preference to our own good sense

There are some people, whose good manners will not suffer them to interrupt you, but, what is almost as bad, will discover abundance of impatience, and lie upon the watch until you have done, because they have started something in their own thoughts, which they long to be delivered of. Meantime, they are so far from regarding what passes, that their imaginations are wholly turned upon what they have in reserve, for fear it should slip out of their memory, and thus they confine their invention, which might otherwise range over a hundred things full as good, and that might be much more naturally introduced

There is a sort of rude familiarity, which some people, by practising among their intimates, have introduced into their general conversation, and would have it pass for innocent freedom or humour, which is a dangerous experiment in our northern climate, where all the little decorum and politeness we have, are purely forced by art, and are so ready to lapse into barbarity. This, among the Romans,

was the raillery of slaves, of which we have many instances in Plautus It seems to have been introduced among us by Cromwell, who, by preferring the scum of the people, made it a court entertainment, of which I have heard many
5 particulars, and, considering all things were turned upside down, it was reasonable and judicious although it was a piece of policy found out to ridicule a point of honour in the other extreme, when the smallest word misplaced among gentlemen ended in a duel

- 10 There are some men excellent at telling a story, and provided with a plentiful stock of them, which they can draw out upon occasion in all companies, and, considering how low conversation runs now among us, it is not altogether a contemptible talent, however, it is subject to
15 two unavoidable defects, frequent repetition, and being soon exhausted, so that, whoever values this gift in himself, has need of a good memory, and ought frequently to shift his company, that he may not discover the weakness of his fund, for those who are thus endued have seldom any
20 other revenue, but live upon the main stock

Great speakers in public are seldom agreeable in private conversation, whether their faculty be natural, or acquired by practice, and often venturing Natural elocution, although it may seem a paradox, usually springs from a barrenness of
25 invention, and of words, by which men who have only one stock of notions upon every subject, and one set of phrases to express them in, they swim upon the superficies, and offer themselves on every occasion, therefore, men of much learning, and who know the compass of a language, are
30 generally the worst talkers on a sudden, until much practice has inured and emboldened them, because they are confounded with plenty of matter, variety of notions and of words, which they cannot readily choose, but are perplexed and entangled by too great a choice, which is no dis-

advantage in private conversation , where, on the other side, the talent of haranguing is, of all others, most unsupportable

Nothing has spoiled men more for conversation, than the character of being wits , to support which, they never fail of encouraging a number of followers and admirers, who list 5 themselves in their service, wherein they find their accounts on both sides by pleasing their mutual vanity This has given the former such an air of superiority, and made the latter so pragmatistical, that neither of them are well to be endured I say nothing here of the itch of dispute and 10 contradiction, telling of lies, or of those who are troubled with the disease called the wandering of the thoughts, so that they are never present in mind at what passes in discourse , for whoever labours under any of these possessions, is as unfit for conversation as a madman in Bedlam 15

I think I have gone over most of the errors in conversation that have fallen under my notice or memory, except some that are merely personal, and others too gross to need exploding , such as lewd or profane talk , but I pretend only to treat the errors of conversation in general, and not 20 the several subjects of discourse, which would be infinite Thus we see how human nature is most debased, by the abuse of that faculty which is held the great distinction between men and brutes and how little advantage we make of that, which might be the greatest, the most lasting, 25 and the most innocent, as well as useful pleasure of life in default of which, we are forced to take up with those poor amusements of dress and visiting, or the more pernicious ones of play, drink, and vicious amours , whereby the nobility and gentry of both sexes are entirely corrupted both 30 in body and mind, and have lost all notions of love, honour, friendship, generosity, which, under the name of fopperies, have been for some time laughed out of doors

This degeneracy of conversation, with the pernicious

consequences thereof upon our humours and dispositions, has been owing, among other causes, to the custom arisen, for some time past, of excluding women from any share in our society, farther than in parties at play, or dancing, or
5 in the pursuit of an amour I take the highest period of politeness in England (and it is of the same date in France) to have been the peaceable part of King Charles the First's reign, and from what we read of those times, as well as from the accounts I have formerly met with from some who
10 lived in that court, the methods then used for raising and cultivating conversation were altogether different from ours several ladies, whom we find celebrated by the poets of that age, had assemblies at their houses, where persons of the best understanding, and of both sexes, met to pass the
15 evenings in discoursing upon whatever agreeable subjects were occasionally started, and although we are apt to ridicule the sublime platonick notions they had, or personated, in love and friendship, I conceive their refinements were grounded upon reason, and that a little grain of the
20 romance is no ill ingredient to preserve and exalt the dignity of human nature, without which it is apt to degenerate into everything that is sordid, vicious, and low If there were no other use in the conversation of ladies, it is sufficient that it would lay a restraint upon those odious topics of
25 immodesty and indecencies, into which the rudeness of our northern genius is so apt to fall And, therefore, it is observable in those sprightly gentlemen about the town, who are so very dexterous at entertaining a vizard mask in the park or the playhouse, that in the company of ladies of
30 virtue and honour, they are silent and disconcerted, and out of their element

There are some people who think they sufficiently acquit themselves, and entertain their company, with relating facts of no consequence, nor at all out of the road of such

common incidents as happen every day, and this I have observed more frequently among the Scots than any other nation, who are very careful not to omit the minutest circumstances of time or place, which kind of discourse, if it were not a little relieved by the uncouth terms and 5 phrases, as well as accent and gesture, peculiar to that country, would be hardly tolerable. It is not a fault in company to talk much, but to continue it long is certainly one, for, if the majority of those who are got together be naturally silent or cautious, the conversation will flag, unless 10 it be often renewed by one among them, who can start new subjects, (provided he does not dwell upon them,) that leave room for answers and replies.

POETRY
HUMOROUS AND SARCASTIC

CHIEFLY WRITTEN IN SWIFT'S LATER YEARS

BAUCIS AND PHILEMON

1706

THIS is one of the earliest of Swift's playful poems, and has always been a favourite, as it was with Goldsmith. The version here printed is that which was first taken from the Swift MSS at Narford (the house of Sir Andrew Fountaine) by the late Mr Forster. As is well known, the version commonly printed had been largely altered, at the suggestion of Addison, but we have here Swift's original words

In ancient times, as story tells,
The saints would often leave their cells,
And stroll about, but hide their quality,
To try good people's hospitality
It happen'd on a winter's night, 5
As authors of the legend write,
Two brother hermits, saints by trade,
Taking their tour in masquerade,
Came to a village hard by Rixham,
Ragged, and not a groat betwixt 'em 10
It rain'd as hard as it could pour,
Yet they were forc't to walk an hour
From house to house, wet to the skin,
Before one soul would let 'em in
They call'd at every door—'Good people! 15
My comrade's blind, and I'm a creeple
Here we lie starving in the street,
'Twould grieve a body's heart to see't
No Christian would turn out a beast,
In such a dreadful night at least! 20

Give us but straw, and let us lie
In yonder barn, to keep us dry !'
Thus, in the strollers' usual cant,
They begg'd relief which none would grant
No creature valued what they said 5
One family was gone to bed
The master bawl'd out half asleep,
'You fellows, what a noise you keep !'
So many beggars pass this way
We can't be quiet, night nor day, 10
We cannot serve you every one,
Pray take your answer, and be gone !'
One swore he'd send 'em to the stocks
A third could not forbear his mocks,
But bawl'd, as loud as he could roar, 15
'You're on the wrong side of the door !'
One surly clown look't out and said,
'I'll fling a brick-bat on your head !'
You shan't come here, nor get a sous !
You look like rogues would rob a house 20
Can't you go work or serve the King ?
You blind and lame ? 'tis no such thing
That's but a counterfeit sore leg !
For shame ! Two sturdy rascals beg !
If I come down, I'll spoil your trick, 25
And cure you both with a good stick !'
Our wandering saints, in woful state,
Treated at this ungodly rate,
Having through all the village past,
To a small cottage came at last, 30
Where dwelt a good old honest ye'man,
Call'd thereabout Goodman Philemon,
Who kindly did these saints invite
In his poor hut to pass the night,

And then the hospitable sire
 Bid Goody Baucis mend the fire ,
 While he from out the chimney took
 A fitch of bacon off the hook,
 And freely from the fattest side 5
 Cut out large slices to be fried ,
 Which, tost up in a pan with batter
 And serv'd up in an earthen platter—
 Quoth Baucis, 'This is wholesome fare ,
 Eat, honest friends, and never spare !' 10
 And if we find our victuals fail,
 We can but make it out in ale'

To a small kilderkin of beer
 Brew'd in the good time of the year,
 Philemon, by his wife's consent, 15
 Stept with a jug, and made a vent ,
 And, having fill'd it to the brink,
 Invited both the saints to drink
 When they had took a second draught,
 Behold, a miracle was wrought 20
 For Baucis with amazement found,
 Although the jug had twice gone round,
 It still was full up to the top
 As if they ne'er had drunk a drop
 You may be sure so strange a sight 25
 Put the old people in a fright
 Philemon whispered to his wife,
 'These men are ——— saints ! I'll lay my life !'
 The strangers overheard, and said,
 'You're in the right, but ben't afraid, 30
 No hurt shall come to you or yours
 But for that pack of churlish boors,
 Not fit to live on Christian ground,
 They and their village shall be drown'd ,

Whilst you shall see your cottage rise,
And grow a church before your eyes'

Scarce had they spoke, when fair and soft,
The roof began to mount aloft ,
Aloft rose every beam and rafter , 5
The heavy wall went clambering after

The chimney widen'd, and grew higher,
Became a steeple with a spire

The kettle to the top was hoist,
And there stood fasten'd to the joist, 10
But with the upside down, to shew
Its inclination for below

In vain , for a superior force
Applied at bottom stops its course
Doom'd ever in suspense to dwell, 15
'Tis now no kettle, but a bell

A wooden jack, which had almost
Lost by disuse the art to roast,
A sudden alteration feels,
Increased by new intestine wheels , 20

And, what exalts the wonder more,
The number made the motion slower
The fier, though it had leaden feet,
Turn'd round so quick you scarce could see't ,

It now, stopt by some hidden powers, 25
Moves round but twice in twice twelve hours

While in the station of a jack
'Twas never known to shew its back,
A friend in turns and windings tried,
Nor ever left the chimney's side 30

The chimney to a steeple grown,
The jack would not be left alone ,
But, up against the steeple rear'd,
Became a clock, and still adher'd ,

And still its love to household cares,
By a shrill voice at noon declares,
Warning the cookmaid not to burn
The roast meat, which it cannot turn
The groaning-chair began to crawl, 5
Like a huge insect up the wall,
There stuck, and to a pulpit grew,
But kept its matter and its hue,
And, mindful of its ancient state,
Still groans while tattling gossips prate 10
The mortar only changed its name,
In its old shape a font became
The porringers, that in a row
Hung high, and made a glittering show,
To a less noble substance changed 15
Were now but leathern buckets ranged
The ballads, pasted on the wall,
Of Chevy Chace, and English Moll,
Fair Rosamond, and Robin Hood,
The little Children in the Wood, 20
Enlarged in picture, size, and letter,
And painted, look't abundance better
And now the heraldry describe
Of a Churchwarden, or a Tribe
A bedstead of the antique mode, 25
Compact of timber many a load,
Such as our grandfathers did use,
Was metamorphosed into pews
Which still their former virtue keep
Of lodging folks disposed to sleep 30
The cottage, with such feats as these,
Grown to a church by just degrees,
The holy men desired their host
To ask for what he fancied most

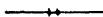
Philemon, having paused a while,
 Replied in complimentary style
 'Your goodness, more than my desert,
 Makes you take all things in good part
 You've raised a church here in a minute, 5
 And I would fain continue in it
 I'm good for little at my days—
 Make me the parson, if you please'

He spoke, and presently he feels
 His ~~grazer's~~ coat reach down his heels. 10
 The sleeves, new bordered with a list,
 Widen'd and gather'd at his wrist
 His waistcoat to a cassock grew,
 And both assumed a sable hue,
 But, being old, continued just 15
 As threadbare and as full of dust
 A shambling awkward gait he took,
 With a demure dejected look,
 Talk't of his offerings, tithes, and dues,
 Could smoke, and drink, and read the news, 20
 Or sell a goose at the next town,
 Decently hid beneath his gown.
 Contriv'd to preach old sermons next,
 Chang'd in the preface and the text,
 At christenings well could act his part, 25
 And had the service all by heart
 Against dissenters would repine,
 And stood up firm for 'right divine'
 Carried it to his equals high'r,
 But most obsequious to the squire 30
 Found his head fill'd with many a system,
 But classic authors—he ne'er miss'd 'em

Thus having furbished up a parson,
 Dame Baucis next they play'd their farce on

Instead of homespun coifs were seen
Good pinners edged with colberteen
Her petticoat, transform'd apace,
Became black satin flounced with lace
'Plain Goody' would no longer down, 5
'Twas 'Madam' in her grogram gown
Philemon was in great surprise,
And hardly could believe his eyes,
Amazed to see her look so prim,
And she admired as much at him 10
Thus happy in their change of life
Were several years this man and wife,
When, on a day which proved their last,
Discoursing o'er old stories past,
They went, by chance amid their talk, 15
To the churchyard to take a walk
When Baucis hastily cried out,
'My dear, I see your forehead sprout!'—
'Sprout,' quoth the man, 'what's this you tell us?'
I hope you don't believe me jealous! 20
But yet, methinks, I feel it true,
And really yours is budding too—
Nay—now I cannot stir my foot,
It feels as if 'twere taking root'
Description would but tire my Muse, 25
In short, they both were turn'd to yews
Old Goodman Dobson of the Green
Remembers he the trees has seen
He'll talk of them from noon till night,
And goes with folks to shew the sight 30
On Sundays, after evening prayer,
He gathers all the parish there,
Points out the place of either yew
Here Baucis, there Philemon, grew,

Till once a parson of our town
To mend his barn cut Baucis down,
At which, 'tis hard to be believed
How much the other tree was grieved,
Grew scrubby, died a-top, was stunted,
So the next parson stubb'd and burnt it



TO THE EARL OF PETERBOROUGH,

WHO COMMANDED THE BRITISH FORCES IN SPAIN

1706

MORDANTO fills the trump of fame,
The Christian worlds his deeds proclaim,
And prints are crowded with his name

In journeys he outrides the post,
Still up till midnight with his host, 5
Talks politics, and gives the toast

Knows every prince in Europe's face,
Flies like a squib from place to place,
And travels not, but runs a race

From Paris gazette A-la-main, 10
This day's arrived, without his train,
Mordanto in a week from Spain

A messenger comes all a-reek
Mordanto at Madrid to seek,
He left the town above a week 15



IN SICKNESS

WRITTEN IN IRELAND IN OCTOBER 1714

'Tis true—then why should I repine
 To see my life so fast decline?
 But why obscurely here alone,
 Where I am neither loved nor known?
 My state of health none care to learn, 5
 My life is here no soul's concern
 And those with whom I now converse
 Without a tear will tend my hearse
 Removed from kind Arbuthnot's aid,
 Who knows his art but not his trade, 10
 Preferring his regard for me
 Before his credit, or his fee.
 Some formal visits, looks, and words,
 What mere humanity affords,
 I meet perhaps from three or four, 15
 From whom I once expected more,
 Which those who tend the sick for pay,
 Can act as decently as they
 But no obliging, tender friend,
 To help at my approaching end 20
 My life is now a burthen grown
 To others, ere it be my own
 Ye formal weepers for the sick,
 In your last offices be quick,
 And spare my absent friends the grief 25
 To hear, yet give me no relief,
 Expired to-day, entomb'd to-morrow,
 When known, will save a double sorrow

DR. SWIFT TO MR POPE

WHILE HE WAS WRITING THE DUNCIAD, 1726

POPE has the talent well to speak,
 But not to reach the ear,
 His loudest voice is low and weak,
 The Dean too deaf to hear
 A while they on each other look, 5
 Then different studies choose,
 The Dean sits plodding on a book,
 Pope walks, and courts the Muse
 Now backs of letters, though design'd
 For those who more will need 'em, 10
 Are fill'd with hints, and interlined,
 Himself can hardly read 'em
 Each atom by some other struck,
 All turns and motions tries,
 Till in a lump together stuck, 15
 Behold a poem rise
 Yet to the Dean his share allot,
 He claims it by a canon,
 That without which a thing is not,
 Is *causa sine quâ non* 20
 Thus, Pope, in vain you boast your wit,
 For, had our deaf divine
 Been for your conversation fit,
 You had not writ a line
 Of Sherlock thus, for preaching famed, 25
 The sexton reason'd well,
 And justly half the merit claim'd,
 Because he rang the bell

DESIRE AND POSSESSION.

1727

'Tis strange what different thoughts inspire
 In men, Possession and Desire !
 Think what they wish so great a blessing ,
 So disappointed when possessing !

A moralist profoundly sage 5
 (I know not in what book or page,
 Or whether o'er a pot of ale)
 Related thus the following tale

Possession, and Desire, his brother,
 But still at variance with each other, 10
 Were seen contending in a race ,
 And kept at first an equal pace ,
 'Tis said, their course continued long,
 For this was active, that was strong
 Till Envy, Slander, Sloth, and Doubt, 15
 Misled them many a league about ,
 Seduced by some deceiving light,
 They take the wrong way for the right ,
 Through slippery by-roads, dark and deep,
 They often climb, and often creep. 20

Desire, the swifter of the two,
 Along the plain like lightning flew
 Till, entering on a broad highway,
 Where power and titles scatter'd lay,
 He strove to pick up all he found, 25
 And by excursions lost his ground
 No sooner got, than with disdain
 He threw them on the ground again ,

And hasted forward to pursue
Fresh objects, fairer to his view,
In hope to spring some nobler game,
But all he took was just the same
Too scornful now to stop his pace, 5
He spurn'd them in his rival's face
Possession kept the beaten road,
And gather'd all his brother strow'd,
But overcharged, and out of wind,
Though strong in limbs, he lagg'd behind 10
Desire had now the goal in sight,
It was a tower of monstrous height,
Where on the summit Fortune stands,
A crown and sceptre in her hands,
Beneath a chasm as deep as Hell, 15
Where many a bold adventurer fell
Desire, in rapture, gazed awhile,
And saw the treacherous goddess smile,
But as he climb'd to grasp the crown,
She knock'd him with the sceptre down ! 20
He tumbled in the gulf profound,
There doom'd to whirl an endless round
Possession's load was grown so great,
He sunk beneath the cumb'rous weight
And, as he now expiring lay, 25
Flocks every ominous bird of prey,
The raven, vulture, owl, and kite,
At once upon his carcase light,
And strip his hide, and pick his bones,
Regardless of his dying groans 30

ON CENSURE.

1727

YE wise, instruct me to endure
 An evil, which admits no cure,
 Or, how this evil can be borne,
 Which breeds at once both hate and scorn.
 Bare innocence is no support, 5
 When you are tried in Scandal's court.
 Stand high in honour, wealth, or wit;
 All others, who inferior sit,
 Conceive themselves in conscience bound
 To join, and drag you to the ground. 10
 Your altitude offends the eyes
 Of those who want the power to rise.
 The world a willing stander-by,
 Inclines to aid a specious lie
 Alas! they would not do you wrong; 15
 But all appearances are strong.

Yet whence proceeds this weight we lay
 On what detracting people say?
 For let mankind discharge their tongues
 In venom, till they burst their lungs, 20
 Their utmost malice cannot make
 Your head, or tooth, or finger ache;
 Nor spoil your shape, distort your face,
 Or put one feature out of place,
 Nor will you find your fortune sink 25
 By what they speak or what they think;
 Nor can ten hundred thousand lies
 Make you less virtuous, learn'd, or wise.
 The most effectual way to balk
 Their malice, is—to let them talk. 30

ON THE DEATH OF DR. SWIFT.

1731

IN scarcely any one of his poems is Swift's power of versification, as well as the range of his general satire, seen in greater perfection than in this, and it has also a special biographical interest, as shewing the view that he himself took of his life's work. The poem was written in 1731, and in 1733 a very incomplete pirated copy was printed in London, and moved Swift's indignation, expressed in a letter to Pope. A genuine, but still imperfect copy, was printed under the care of Dr King, of Oxford, and finally the complete poem was issued in Dublin, by Faulkner, in 1743, this version having had the benefit of Swift's supervision before he fell into his last lethargy.

As Rochefoucault his maxims drew
 From nature, I believe them true
 They argue no corrupted mind
 In him, the fault is in mankind
 This maxim more than all the rest 5
 Is thought too base for human breast :
 'In all distresses of our friends
 We first consult our private ends ,
 While Nature, kindly bent to ease us
 Points out some circumstance to please us ' 10
 If this perhaps your patience move,
 Let reason and experience prove.
 We all behold with envious eyes
 Our equal raised above our size
 Who would not at a crowded show 15
 Stand high himself, keep others low ?
 I love my friend as well as you
 But would not have him stop my view
 Then let me have the higher post ,
 Suppose it be an inch at most. 20

If, in a battle you should find
One, whom you love of all mankind
Had some heroic action done,
A champion kill'd, or trophy won,
Rather than thus be overtopp'd 5
Would you not wish his laurels cropp'd ?

Dear honest Ned is in the gout,
Lies rack'd with pain and you without
How patiently you hear him groan !
How glad the case is not your own ! 10

What poet would not grieve to see
His brother write as well as he ?
But rather than they should excel
He'd wish his rivals all in hell

Her end, when Emulation misses 15
She turns to Envy, Stings, and Hisses
The strongest friendship yields to pride,
Unless the odds be on our side.

Vain human kind ! fantastic race !
Thy various follies who can trace ? 20

Self-love, ambition, envy, pride,
Their empire in our hearts divide
Give others riches, power and station
'Tis all on me an usurpation

I have no title to aspire, 25
Yet, when you sink, I seem the higher
In Pope, I cannot read a line,
But with a sigh, I wish it mine.

When he can in one couplet fix
More sense than I can do in six 30
It gives me such a jealous fit
I cry, 'Plague take him and his wit !'
I grieve to be outdone by Gay

In my own humorous biting way
Arbuthnot is no more my friend
Who dares to irony pretend,
Which I was born to introduce,
Refined it first and shew'd its use 5
St John, as well as Pult'ney, knows
That I had some repute for prose
And, till they drove me out of date,
Could maul a minister of state
If they have mortified my pride 10
And made me throw my pen aside,
If with such talents Heaven has bless'd 'em,
Have I not reason to detest 'em ?

To all my foes, dear Fortune, send
Thy gifts, but never to my friend 15
I tamely can endure the first
But this with envy makes me burst
Thus much may serve by way of proem,
Proceed we therefore to our poem

The time is not remote, when I 20
Must by the course of nature die,
When, I foresee, my special friends
Will try to find their private ends.
And, though 'tis hardly understood
Which way my death can do them good, 25
Yet thus, methinks, I hear them speak
' See how the Dean begins to break,
Poor gentleman, he droops apace,
You plainly find it in his face
That old vertigo in his head 30
Will never leave him till he's dead
Besides, his memory decays,
He recollects not what he says,

He cannot call his friends to mind,
Forgets the place where last he dined,
Plies you with stories o'er and o'er,
He told them fifty times before
How does he fancy we can sit 5
To hear his out-of-fashion wit ?
But he takes up with younger folks
Who, for his wine, will bear his jokes
Faith, he must make his stories shorter
Or change his comrades once a quarter 10
In half the time he talks them round,
There must another set be found
 ' For poetry he's past his prime,
He takes an hour to find a rhyme ,
His fire is out, his wit decay'd, 15
His fancy sunk, his Muse a jade
I'd have him throw away his pen,
But there's no talking to some men !'
And then their tenderness appears
By adding largely to my years 20
 ' He's older than he would be reckoned,
And well remembers Charles the Second
He hardly drinks a pint of wine,
And that, I doubt, is no good sign
His stomach too, begins to fail, 25
Last year we thought him strong and hale,
But now he's quite another thing
I wish he may hold out till spring'
Then hug themselves and reason thus .
 ' It is not yet so bad with us ' 30
In such a case they talk in tropes
And by their fears express their hopes
Some great misfortune to portend
No enemy can match a friend

With all the kindness they profess,
 The merit of a lucky guess
 (When daily How d'ye's come of course
 And servants answer 'Worse and worse')
 Would please them better than to tell 5
 That 'God be praised, the Dean is well'
 Then he, who prophesied the best,
 Approves his foresight to the rest
 'You know, I always fear'd the worst,
 And often told you so at first' 10
 He'd rather choose that I should die,
 Than his prediction prove a lie
 No one foretells I shall recover,
 But all agree to give me over
 Yet, should some neighbour feel a pain 15
 Just in the parts where I complain,
 How many a message would he send,
 What hearty prayers that I should mend!
 Inquire, what regimen I kept?
 What gave me ease, and how I slept? 20
 And more lament when I was dead
 Than all the snivellers round my bed
 My good companions, never fear!
 For, though you may mistake a year,
 Though your prognostics run too fast 25
 They must be verified at last
 Behold the fatal day arrive—
 'How is the Dean?' 'He's just alive'
 Now the departing prayer is read—
 'He hardly breathes'—'The Dean is dead' 30
 Before the passing bell begun
 The news through half the town is run.
 'O, may we all for death prepare!
 What has he left and who's his heir?'

'I know no more than what the news is,
'Tis all bequeathed to public uses'
'To public uses, there's a whim!
What had the public done for him?
Mere envy, avarice, and pride 5
He gave it all—but, first he died
And had the Dean, in all the nation,
No worthy friend, no poor relation?
So ready to do strangers good,
Forgetting his own flesh and blood' 10
Now, Grub-Street wits are all employ'd,
With elegies the town is cloy'd,
Some paragraph in every paper
To curse the Dean or bless the Drapier.
The doctors, tender of their fame, 15
Wisely on me lay all the blame
'We must confess his case was nice
But he would never take advice
Had he been ruled, for aught appears,
He might have lived these twenty years, 20
For, when we open'd him we found
That all his vital parts were sound'
From Dublin soon to London spread
'Tis told at Court—'The Dean is dead'
Kind Lady Suffolk, in the spleen, 25
Runs laughing up to tell the queen
The queen, so gracious, mild and good,
Cries 'Is he gone? 'tis time he should.
He's dead, you say, then let him rot,
I'm glad the medals were forgot. 30
I promised him, I own, but when?
I only was the princess then,
But now, as consort of the king,
You know, 'tis quite a different thing.'

Now Chartres, at Sir Robert's levee,
 Tells, with a sneer, the tidings heavy.
 'Why, if he died without his shoes,'
 (Cries Bob) 'I'm sorry for the news
 O, were the wretch but living still 5
 And in his place my good friend Will,
 Or had a mitre on his head
 Provided Bolingbroke were dead!'
 Now Curll his shop from rubbish drains;
 Three genuine tomes of Swift's remains! 10
 And then, to make them pass the glubber,
 Revised by Tibbalds, Moore, and Cibber!
 He'll treat me as he does my betters,
 Publish my will, my life, my letters,
 Revive the libels, born to die, 15
 Which Pope must bear, as well as I.
 Here shift the scene to represent
 How those I love my death lament
 Poor Pope will grieve a month, and Gay
 A week, and Arbuthnot a day 20
 St John himself will scarce forbear
 To bite his pen and drop a tear
 The rest will give a shrug and cry
 'I'm sorry—but we all must die'
 Indifference, clad in wisdom's guise, 25
 All fortitude of mind supplies,
 For how can stony bowels melt
 In those who never pity felt?
 When we are lash'd, they kiss the rod,
 Resigning to the will of God 30
 The fools, my juniors by a year,
 Are tortur'd with suspense and fear,
 Who wisely thought my age a screen,
 When death approach'd, to stand between.

The screen removed, their hearts are trembling
They mourn for me without dissembling

My female friends, whose tender hearts
Have better learn'd to act their parts,
Receive the news in doleful dumps 5
'The Dean is dead (pray what are trumps?)

Then Lord have mercy on his soul —
(Ladies, I'll venture for the *vole*)
Six deans, they say, must bear the pall,
(I wish I knew what *King* to call) 10

Madam, your husband will attend
The funeral of so good a friend?
'No, Madam, 'tis a shocking sight
And he's engaged to-morrow night
My Lady *Club* will take it ill 15

If he should fail her at quadrille
He loved the Dean—(I lead a heart)
But dearest friends, they say, must part
His time was come, he ran his race,
We hope he's in a better place' 20

Why do we grieve that friends should die?
No loss more easy to supply
One year is past, a different scene,
No further mention of the Dean!
Who now, alas, no more is miss'd 25
Than if he never did exist.

Where's now this favourite of Apollo?
Departed,—and his works must follow,
Must undergo the common fate,
His kind of wit is out of date 30

Some country squire to Lintot goes,
Inquires for 'Swift in Verse and Prose'
Says Lintot, 'I have heard the name,
He died a year ago.' 'The same.'

He searches all the shop in vain
'Sir, you may find them in Duck-lane,
I sent them with a load of books
Last Monday, to the pastrycook's
To fancy they could live a year! 5
I find you're but a stranger here
The Dean was famous in his time,
And had a kind of knack at rhyme.
His way of writing now is past,
The town has got a better taste 10
I keep no antiquated stuff
But spick and span I have enough,
Pray do but give me leave to shew 'em
Here's Colley Cibber's birthday-poem
This ode you never yet have seen 15
By Stephen Duck, upon the queen
Then here's a letter, finely penn'd,
Against the Craftsman and his friend,
It clearly shows that all reflection
On ministers is disaffection 20
Next, here's Sir Robert's vindication
And Mr Henley's last oration
The hawkers have not got them yet,
Your honour please to buy a set?
Here's Woolston's tracts, the twelfth edition, 25
'Tis read by every politician
The country members, when in town,
To all their boroughs send them down
You never met a thing so smart,
The courtiers have them all by heart 30
Those maids of honour who can read,
Are taught to use them for their creed.
The reverend author's good intention
Hath been rewarded with a pension.

He doth an honour to his gown,
By bravely running priestcraft down,
He shews, as sure as God's in Gloucester,
That Moses was a grand imposter,
That all his miracles were cheats, 5
Perform'd as jugglers do their feats
The church had never such a writer,
A shame he hath not got a mitre!'

Suppose me dead, and then suppose
A club assembled at The Rose, 10
Where, from discourse of this and that,
I grow the subject of their chat
And while they toss my name about,
With favour some, and some without,
One, quite indifferent in the cause, 15
My character impartial draws

'The Dean, if we believe report,
Was never ill-received at court
As for his works in verse and prose,
I own myself no judge of those, 20
Nor can I tell what critics thought 'em,
But this I know, all people bought 'em
As with a moral view design'd
To cure the vices of mankind,
His vein, ironically grave, 25
Exposed the fool and lash'd the knave
To steal a hint was never known
But what he writ was all his own.

He never thought an honour done him
Because a duke was proud to own him; 30
Would rather slip aside and choose
To talk with wits in dirty shoes
Despised the fools with stars and garters
So often seen caressing Chartres.

He never courted men in station
Nor persons held in admiration,
Of no man's greatness was afraid
Because he sought for no man's aid
Though trusted long in great affairs 5
He gave himself no haughty airs.
Without regarding private ends
Spent all his credit for his friends,
And only chose the wise and good
No flatterers, no allies in blood, 10
But succour'd virtue in distress
And seldom fail'd of good success,
As numbers in their hearts must own
Who, but for him, had been unknown
With princes kept a due decorum, 15
But never stood in awe before 'em
He follow'd David's lesson just,—
'In princes never put thy trust'—
And, would you make him truly sour,
Provoke him with a slave in power 20
The Irish senate if you named
With what impatience he declaim'd '
Fair LIBERTY was all his cry,
For her he stood prepar'd to die,
For her he boldly stood alone, 25
For her he oft exposed his own
Two kingdoms, just as faction led,
Had set a price upon his head,
But not a traitor could be found
To sell him for six hundred pound 30
Had he but spared his tongue and pen
He might have rose like other men,
But power was never in his thought
And wealth he valued not a groat

Ingratitude he often found
 And pitied those who meant the wound,
 But kept the tenor of his mind
 To merit well of human kind ,
 Nor made a sacrifice of those 5
 Who still were true, to please his foes
 He labour'd many a fruitless hour
 To reconcile his friends in power ,
 Saw mischief by a faction brewing
 While they pursued each other's rum, 10
 But finding vain was all his care
 He left the Court in mere despair.
 And oh, how short are human schemes !
 Here ended all our golden dreams
 What St John's skill in state affairs, 15
 What Ormond's valour, Oxford's cares,
 To save their sinking country lent
 Was all destroy'd by one event.
 Too soon that precious life was ended
 On which alone our weal depended, 20
 When up a dangerous faction starts
 With wrath and vengeance in their hearts,
 By solemn league and covenant bound
 To run, slaughter and confound,
 To turn religion to a fable 25
 And make the government a Babel,
 Pervert the laws, disgrace the gown,
 Corrupt the senate, rob the crown,
 To sacrifice Old England's glory
 And make her infamous in story 30
 When such a tempest shook the land
 How could unguarded Virtue stand !
 With horror, grief, despair, the Dean
 Beheld the dire destructive scene

His friends in exile, or the Tower,
Himself within the frown of power
Pursued by base envenom'd pens
Far to the land of slaves and fens,
A servile race in folly nursed 5
Who truckle most, when treated worst
By innocence and resolution
He bore continual persecution
While numbers to preferment rose
Whose merits were—to be his foes 10
When even his own familiar friends,
Intent upon their private ends,
Like renegadoes now he feels
Against him lifting up their heels
The Dean did, by his pen, defeat 15
An infamous destructive cheat,
Taught fools their interest how to know
And gave them arms to ward the blow
Envy has own'd it was his doing
To save that hapless land from ruin, 20
While they who at the steerage stood
And reap'd the profit, sought his blood
To save them from their evil fate
In him was held a crime of state
A wicked monster on the bench 25
Whose fury blood could never quench,
As vile and profligate a villain
As modern Scroggs or old Tresilian,
Who long all justice had discarded
Nor fear'd he God, nor man regarded, 30
Vow'd on the Dean his rage to vent
And make him of his zeal repent.
But Heaven his innocence defends
The grateful people stand his friends

Not strains of law nor judge's frown
 Nor topics brought to please the crown,
 Nor witness hired, nor jury pick'd,
 Prevail to bring him in convict
 In exile, with a steady heart, 5
 He spent his life's declining part,
 Where folly, pride, and faction sway,
 Remote from St John, Pope, and Gay
 His friendships there, to few confined,
 Were always of the middling kind, 10
 No fools of rank, a mongrel breed,
 Who fain would pass for lords indeed,
 Where titles give no right or power,
 And peerage is a wither'd flower
 He would have held it a disgrace 15
 If such a wretch had known his face
 On rural squires, that kingdom's bane,
 He vented oft his wrath in vain
 On (*bankrupt*) squires to market brought
 Who sell their souls and (*votes*) for nought 20
 The (*wretches still*) go joyful back,
 To (*rob*) the Church, their tenants rack,
 Go snacks with (*English absentees*),
 And, keep the peace, to pick up fees
 In every job to have a share, 25
 A jail or (*turnpike*) to repair
 And turn the (*course*) for public roads
 Commodious to their own abodes
 Perhaps I may allow the Dean
 Had too much satire in his vein, 30
 And seem'd determined not to starve it,
 Because no age could more deserve it
 Yet malice never was his aim,
 He lash'd the vice but spar'd the name

No individual could resent
Where thousands equally were meant.
His satire points at no defect,
But what all mortals may correct,
For he abhorr'd that senseless tribe 5
Who call it humour when they gibe
He spared a hump or crooked nose
Whose owners set not up for beaux
True genuine dulness moved his pity
Unless it offer'd to be witty 10
Those who their ignorance confest
He ne'er offended with a jest,
But laugh'd to hear an idiot quote
A verse from Horace, learn'd by rote
He knew a hundred pleasing stories 15
With all the turns of Whigs and Tories,
Was cheerful to his dying day,
And friends would let him have his way
He gave the little wealth he had
To build a house for fools and mad, 20
And shew'd by one satiric touch
No nation wanted it so much
That kingdom he hath left his debtor.
I wish it soon may have a better



THE BEASTS' CONFESSION
TO THE PRIEST

ON OBSERVING HOW MOST MEN MISTAKE
THEIR OWN TALENTS

1732

PREFACE

I HAVE been long of opinion, that there is not a more general and greater mistake, or of worse consequences through the commerce of mankind, than the wrong judgments they are apt to entertain of their own talents I knew a stuttering alderman in London, a great frequenter 5 of coffeehouses, who, when a fresh newspaper was brought in, constantly seized it first, and read it aloud to his brother citizens, but in a manner as little intelligible to the standers-by as to himself How many pretenders to learning expose themselves, by choosing to discourse on those 10 very parts of science wherewith they are least acquainted ! It is the same case in every other qualification. By the multitude of those who deal in rhymes, from half a sheet to twenty, which come out every minute, there must be at least five hundred poets in the city and suburbs of London , 15 half as many coffeehouse orators, exclusive of the clergy ; forty thousand politicians, and four thousand five hundred profound scholars , not to mention the wits, the railliers, the

smart-fellows, and critics, all as illiterate and impudent as a suburb wench. What are we to think of the fine-dressed sparks, proud of their own personal deformities, which appear the more hideous by the contrast of wearing scarlet
5 and gold, with what they call toupees on their heads, and all the frippery of a modern beau, to make a figure before women, some of them with hump-backs, others hardly five feet high, and every feature of their faces distorted. I have seen many of these insipid pretenders entering into conversation
10 with persons of learning, constantly making the grossest blunders in every sentence, without conveying one single idea fit for a rational creature to spend a thought on, perpetually confounding all chronology, and geography, even of present times. I compute, that London hath
15 eleven native fools of the beau and puppy kind, for one among us in Dublin, besides two thirds of ours transplanted thither, who are now naturalized whereby that overgrown capital exceeds ours in the articles of dunces by forty to one, and what is more to our farther
20 mortification, there is not one distinguished fool of Irish birth or education, who makes any noise in that famous metropolis, unless the London prints be very partial or defective, whereas London is seldom without a dozen of their own educating, who engross the vogue for half a
25 winter together, and are never heard of more, but give place to a new set. This hath been the constant progress for at least thirty years past, only allowing for the change of breed and fashion.

The poem is grounded upon the universal folly of mankind of mistaking their talents, by which the author does a
30 great honour to his own species, almost equalling them with certain brutes, wherein, indeed, he is too partial, as he freely confesseth, and yet he hath gone as low as he well could, by specifying four animals; the wolf, the ass, the

swine, and the ape , all equally mischievous, except the last, who outdoes them in the article of cunning so great is the pride of man !

WHEN beasts could speak, (the learned say
They still can do so every day,) 5
It seems, they had religion then,
As much as now we find in men
It happen'd, when a plague broke out,
(Which therefore made them more devout,)
The king of brutes (to make it plain, 10
Of quadrupeds I only mean)
By proclamation gave command,
That every subject in the land
Should to the priest confess their sins ,
And thus the pious Wolf begins 15
Good father, I must own with shame,
That often I have been to blame
I must confess, on Friday last,
Wretch that I was ! I broke my fast
But I defy the basest tongue 20
To prove I did my neighbour wrong ,
Or ever went to seek my food,
By rapine, theft, or thirst of blood
The Ass approaching next, confess'd,
That in his heart he loved a jest 25
A wag he was, he needs must own,
And could not let a dunce alone
Sometimes his friend he would not spare,
And might perhaps be too severe
But yet the worst that could be said, 30
He was a wit both born and bred ,
And, if it be a sin and shame,
Nature alone must bear the blame

One fault he hath, is sorry for 't,
His ears are half a foot too short,
Which could he to the standard bring,
He'd show his face before the king
Then for his voice, there's none disputes 5
That he's the nightingale of brutes

The Swine with contrite heart allow'd,
His shape and beauty made him proud
In diet was perhaps too nice,
But gluttony was ne'er his vice 10
In every turn of life content,
And meekly took what fortune sent
Inquire through all the parish round,
A better neighbour ne'er was found,
His vigilance might some displease, 15
'Tis true, he hated sloth like pease

The mimic Ape began his chatter,
How evil tongues his life bespatter,
Much of the censuring world complain'd,
Who said, his gravity was feign'd 20
Indeed, the strictness of his morals
Engaged him in a hundred quarrels
He saw, and he was grieved to see't,
His zeal was sometimes indiscreet
He found his virtues too severe 25
For our corrupted times to bear,
Yet such a lewd licentious age
Might well excuse a stoic's rage

The Goat advanced with decent pace,
And first excused his youthful face, 30
Forgiveness begg'd that he appear'd
('Twas Nature's fault) without a beard.
'Tis true, he was not much inclined
To fondness for the female kind.

Not, as his enemies object,
From chance, or natural defect,
Not by his frigid constitution,
But through a pious resolution
For he had made a holy vow 5
Of Chastity, as monks do now
Which he resolved to keep for ever hence,
And strictly too, as doth his reverence
Apply the tale, and you shall find,
How just it suits with human kind 10
Some faults we own, but can you guess?
—Why, virtues carried to excess,
Wherewith our vanity endows us,
Though neither foe nor friend allows us
The Lawyer swears (you may rely on't) 15
He never squeezed a needy client,
And this he makes his constant rule,
For which his brethren call him fool,
His conscience always was so nice,
He freely gave the poor advice, 20
By which he lost, he may affirm,
An hundred fees last Easter term,
While others of the learned robe,
Would break the patience of a Job
No pleader at the bar could match 25
His diligence and quick dispatch,
Ne'er kept a cause, he well may boast,
Above a term or two at most
The cringing Knave, who seeks a place
Without success, thus tells his case 30
Why should he longer mince the matter?
He fail'd, because he could not flatter,
He had not learn'd to turn his coat,
Nor for a party give his vote,

His crime he quickly understood ,
Too zealous for the nation's good
He found the ministers resent it,
Yet could not for his heart repent it

The Chaplain vows, he cannot fawn,
Though it would raise him to the lawn
He pass'd his hours among his books ,
You find it in his meagre looks

He might, if he were worldly wise,
Preferment get, and spare his eyes ,
But owns he had a stubborn spirit,
That made him trust alone in merit ,
Would rise by merit to promotion ,
Alas ! a mere chimeric notion

The Doctor, if you will believe him,
Confess'd a sin , (and God forgive him !)
Call'd up at midnight, ran to save

A blind old beggar from the grave
But see how Satan spreads his snares ,
He quite forgot to say his prayers
He cannot help it, for his heart,
Sometimes to act the parson's part

Quotes from the Bible many a sentence,
That moves his patients to repentance ,
And, when his medicines do no good,
Supports their minds with heavenly food

At which, however well intended,
He hears the clergy are offended ,
And grown so bold behind his back,
To call him hypocrite and quack

In his own church he keeps a seat ,
Says grace before and after meat ,
And calls, without affecting airs,
His household twice a-day to prayers

He shuns apothecaries' shops,
And hates to cram the sick with slops
He scorns to make his art a trade,
Nor bribes my lady's favourite maid
Old nurse-keepers would never hire, 5
To recommend him to the squire,
Which others, whom he will not name,
Have often practised to their shame
The Statesman tells you, with a sneer,
His fault is to be too sincere, 10
And having no sinister ends,
Is apt to disoblige his friends
The nation's good, his master's glory,
Without regard to Whig or Tory,
Were all the schemes he had in view, 15
Yet he was seconded by few
Though some had spread a thousand lies,
'Twas he defeated the excise
'Twas known, though he had borne aspersion,
That standing troops were his aversion 20
His practice was, in every station,
To serve the king, and please the nation
Though hard to find in every case
The fittest man to fill a place
His promises he ne'er forgot, 25
But took memorials on the spot,
His enemies, for want of charity,
Said, he affected popularity
'Tis true, the people understood,
That all he did was for their good, 30
Their kind affections he has tried,
No love is lost on either side
He came to court with fortune clear,
Which now he runs out every year,

Must, at the rate that he goes on,
Inevitably be undone
O ! if his majesty would please
To give him but a writ of ease,
Would grant him licence to retire, 5
As it hath long been his desire,
By fair accounts it would be found,
He's poorer by ten thousand pound
He owns, and hopes it is no sin,
He ne'er was partial to his kin , 10
He thought it base for men in stations,
To crowd the court with their relations
His country was his dearest mother,
And every virtuous man his brother ,
Through modesty or awkward shame, 15
(For which he owns himself to blame,)
He found the wisest men he could,
Without respect to friends or blood ,
Nor ever acts on private views,
When he hath liberty to choose 20
The Sharper swore he hated play,
Except to pass an hour away
And well he might , for, to his cost,
By want of skill, he always lost ,
He heard there was a club of cheats, 25
Who had contrived a thousand feats ,
Could change the stock, or cog a die,
And thus deceive the sharpest eye
Nor wonder how his fortune sunk,
His brothers fleece him when he's drunk 30
I own the moral not exact,
Besides, the tale is false, in fact ,
And so absurd, that could I raise up,
From fields Elysian, fabling Æsop,

I would accuse him to his face,
For libelling the four-foot race.
Creatures of every kind but ours
Well comprehend their natural powers,
While we, whom reason ought to sway, 5
Mistake our talents every day
The Ass was never known so stupid,
To act the part of Tray or Cupid,
Nor leaps upon his master's lap,
There to be stroked, and fed with pap, 10
As Æsop would the world persuade,
He better understands his trade
Nor comes whene'er his lady whistles,
But carries loads, and feeds on thistles
Our author's meaning, I presume, is 15
A creature *bipes et implumis*,
Wherein the moralist design'd
A compliment on human kind,
For here he owns, that now and then
Beasts may degenerate into men 20

ON POETRY

A RHAPSODY

1733

IN none of his writings does Swift approach so closely to real poetical fervour as in this. It is not surprising to be assured by Dr King that Swift thought this the best satire he had ever written. Some passages, in which he thought that he had gone too far and been too personal, were suppressed, and do not appear in this version.

ALL human race would fain be wits,
 And millions miss for one that hits
 Young's universal passion, pride,
 Was never known to spread so wide
 Say, Britain, could you ever boast
 Threë poets in an age at most?
 Our chilling climate hardly bears
 A sprig of bays in fifty years,
 While every fool his claim alleges,
 As if it grew in common hedges, 10
 What reason can there be assign'd
 For this perverseness in the mind?
 Brutes find out where their talents lie
 A bear will not attempt to fly,
 A founder'd horse will oft debate, 15
 Before he tries a five-barr'd gate,

A dog by instinct turns aside,
 Who sees the ditch too deep and wide
 But man we find the only creature
 Who, led by Folly, combats Nature,
 Who, when she loudly cries, Forbear, 5
 With obstinacy fixes there,
 And, where his genius least inclines,
 Absurdly bends his whole designs
 Not empire to the rising sun
 By valour, conduct, fortune won, 10
 Not highest wisdom in debates,
 For framing laws to govern states,
 Not skill in sciences profound
 So large to grasp the circle round,
 Such heavenly influence require, 15
 As how to strike the Muse's lyre
 Not beggar's brat on bulk begot,
 Not bastard of a pedlar Scot,
 Not boy brought up to cleaning shoes,
 The spawn of Bridewell or the stews, 20
 Not infants dropp'd, the spurious pledges
 Of gypsies, litter'd under hedges,
 Are so disqualified by fate
 To rise in church, or law, or state,
 As he whom Phœbus in his ire 25
 Hath blasted with poetic fire
 What hope of custom in the fair,
 While not a soul demands your ware?
 Where you have nothing to produce
 For private life, or public use? 30
 Court, city, country, want you not,
 You cannot bribe, betray, or plot
 For poets, law makes no provision,
 The wealthy have you in derision

Of state affairs you cannot smatter ,
Are awkward when you try to flatter ,
Your portion, taking Britain round
Was just one annual hundred pound ,
Now not so much as in remainder, 5
Since Cibber brought in an attainder ,
For ever fix'd by right divine
(A monarch's right) on Grub Street line
Poor starv'ling bard, how small thy gains !
How unproportion'd to thy pains 10
And here a simile comes pat in
Though chickens take a month to fatten,
The guests in less than half an hour
Will more than half a score devour
So, after toiling twenty days 15
To earn a stock of pence and praise,
Thy labours, grown the critic's prey,
Are swallow'd o'er a dish of tea ,
Gone to be never heard of more,
Gone where the chickens went before 20
How shall a new attempter learn
Of different spirits to discern,
And how distinguish which is which,
The poet's vein, or scribbling itch ?
Then hear an old experienced sinner, 25
Instructing thus a young beginner
Consult yourself , and if you find
A powerful impulse urge your mind,
Impartial judge within your breast
What subject you can manage best , 30
Whether your genius most inclines
To satire, praise, or humorous lines,
To elegies in mournful tone,
Or prologue sent from hand unknown

Then, rising with Aurora's light,
 The Muse invoked, sit down to write,
 Blot out, correct, insert, refine,
 Enlarge, diminish, interline,
 Be mindful, when invention fails, 5
 To scratch your head, and bite your nails
 Your poem finish'd, next your care
 Is needful to transcribe it fair
 In modern wit all printed trash is
 Set off with numerous breaks and dashes 10
 To statesmen would you give a wipe,
 You print it in *Italic* type
 When letters are in vulgar shapes,
 'Tis ten to one the wit escapes
 But, when in capitals express'd, 15
 The dullest reader smokes the jest
 Or else perhaps he may invent
 A better than the poet meant,
 As learned commentators view
 In Homer more than Homer knew 20
 Your poem in its modish dress,
 Correctly fitted for the press,
 Convey by penny-post to Lintot,
 But let no friend alive look into 't
 If Lintot thinks 'twill quit the cost, 25
 You need not fear your labour lost
 And how agreeably surprised
 Are you to see it advertised!
 The hawker shews you one in print,
 As fresh as farthings from the mint 30
 The product of your toil and sweating,
 A bastard of your own begetting
 Be sure at Will's, the following day,
 Lie snug, and hear what critics say,

And, if you find the general vogue
Pronounces you a stupid rogue,
Damns all your thoughts as low and little,
Sit still, and swallow down your spittle ,
Be silent as a politician, 5
For talking may beget suspicion ,
Or praise the judgment of the town,
And help yourself to run it down
Give up your fond paternal pride,
Nor argue on the weaker side 10
For, poems read without a name
We justly praise, or justly blame,
And critics have no partial views,
Except they know whom they abuse ,
And since you ne'er provoked their spite, 15
Depend upon't their judgment's right
But if you blab, you are undone
Consider what a risk you run
You lose your credit all at once ,
The town will mark you for a dunce , 20
The vilest doggrel Grub Street sends,
Will pass for yours with foes and friends .
And you must bear the whole disgrace,
Till some fresh blockhead takes your place
Your secret kept, your poem sunk, 25
And sent in quires to line a trunk,
If still you be disposed to rhyme,
Go try your hand a second time
Again you fail yet Safe's the word ,
Take courage, and attempt a third 30
But first with care employ your thoughts
Where critics mark'd your former faults
The trivial turns, the borrow'd wit,
The similes that nothing fit ,

The cant which every fool repeats,
Town jests and coffeehouse conceits,
Descriptions tedious, flat and dry,
And introduced the Lord knows why
Or where we find your fury set 5
Against the harmless alphabet,
On A's and B's your malice vent,
While readers wonder whom you meant
A public or a private robber,
A statesman, or a South-Sea jobber, 10
A prelate, who no God believes,
A parliament, or den of thieves,
A pickpurse at the bar or bench,
A duchess, or a suburb wench
Or oft, when epithets you link 15
In gaping lines to fill a chink,
Like stepping-stones, to save a stride,
In streets where kennels are too wide,
Or like a heel-piece, to support
A cripple with one foot too short, 20
Or like a bridge, that joins a marish
To moorlands of a different parish
So have I seen ill-coupled hounds
Drag different ways in miry grounds
So geographers, in Afric maps, 25
With savage pictures fill their gaps,
And o'er unhabitable downs
Place elephants for want of towns
But, though you miss your third essay,
You need not throw your pen away 30
Lay now aside all thoughts of fame,
To spring more profitable game
From party ment seek support,
The vilest verse thrives best at court.

A pamphlet in *Sir Bob's* defence
 Will never fail to bring in pence ·
 Nor be concern'd about the sale,
 He pays his workmen on the nail
 A prince, the moment he is crown'd, 5
 Inherits every virtue round,
 As emblems of the sovereign power,
 Like other baubles in the Tower ·
 Is generous, valiant, just, and wise,
 And so continues till he dies 10
 His humble senate this professes,
 In all their speeches, votes, addresses
 But once you fix him in a tomb,
 His virtues fade, his vices bloom,
 And each perfection, wrong imputed, 15
 Is fully at his death confuted
 The loads of poems in his praise,
 Ascending, make one funeral blaze
 As soon as you can hear his knell,
 This god on earth turns devil in hell 20
 And lo ! his ministers of state,
 Transform'd to imps, his levee wait ,
 Where in the scenes of endless woe,
 They ply their former arts below ;
 And as they sail in Charon's boat, 25
 Contrive to bribe the judge's vote ,
 To Cerberus they give a sop,
 His triple barking mouth to stop ,
 Or, in the ivory gate of dreams,
 Project excise and South-Sea schemes , 30
 Or hire their party pamphleteers
 To set Elysium by the ears.
 Then, poet, if you mean to thrive,
 Employ your muse on kings alive ;

With prudence gathering up a cluster
Of all the virtues you can muster,
Which, form'd into a garland sweet,
Lay humbly at your monarch's feet
Who, as the odours reach his throne, 5
Will smile, and think them all his own ,
For law and gospel both determine
All virtues lodge in royal ermine
I mean the oracles of both,
Who shall depose it upon oath 10
Your garland, in the following reign,
Change but the names, will do again
But, if you think this trade too base,
(Which seldom is the dunce's case)
Put on the critic's brow, and sit 15
At Will's, the puny judge of wit
A nod, a shrug, a scornful smile,
With caution used, may serve a while
Proceed no further in your part,
Before you learn the terms of art, 20
For you can never be too far gone
In all our modern critics' jargon
Then talk with more authentic face
Of unities, in time and place
Get scraps of Horace from your friends, 25
And have them at your fingers' ends ,
Learn Aristotle's rules by rote,
And at all hazards boldly quote ,
Judicious Rymer oft review,
Wise Dennis, and profound Bossu, 30
Read all the prefaces of Dryden,
For these our critics much confide in ,
Though merely writ at first for filling,
To raise the volume's price a shilling.

A forward critic often dupes us
With sham quotations *per hupsous*
And if we have not read Longinus,
Will magisterially outshine us
Then, lest with Greek he over-run ye, 5
Procure the book for love or money,
Translated from Boileau's translation,
And quote quotation on quotation
At Will's you hear a poem read,
Where Battus from the table head, 10
Reclining on his elbow-chair,
Gives judgment with decisive air,
To whom the tribe of circling wits
As to an oracle submits
He gives directions to the town, 15
To cry it up, or run it down,
Like courtiers, when they send a note,
Instructing members how to vote
He sets the stamp of bad and good,
Though not a word be understood 20
Your lesson learn'd, you'll be secure
To get the name of connoisseur
And, when your merits once are known,
Procure disciples of your own
For poets (you can never want them) 25
Spread through Augusta Trinobantum,
Computing by their pecks of coals,
Amount to just nine thousand souls
These o'er their proper districts govern,
Of wit and humour judges sovereign 30
In every street a city bard
Rules, like an alderman, his ward,
His undisputed rights extend
Through all the lane, from end to end,

The neighbours round admire his shrewdness
 For songs of loyalty and lewdness,
 Outdone by none in rhyming well,
 Although he never learn'd to spell

Two bordering wits contend for glory, 5
 And one is Whig, and one is Tory
 And this, for epics claims the bays,
 And that, for elegiac lays

Some famed for numbers soft and smooth,
 By lovers spoke in Punch's booth, 10

And some as justly fame extols
 For lofty lines in Smithfield drolls

Bavius in Wapping gains renown,
 And Mævius reigns o'er Kentish town

Tigellius placed in Phœbus' car 15
 From Ludgate shines to Temple-bar

Harmonious Cibber entertains
 The court with annual birth-day strains,

Whence Gay was banish'd in disgrace,
 Where Pope will never shew his face, 20

Where Young must torture his invention
 To flatter knaves or lose his pension

But these are not a thousandth part
 Of jobbers in the poet's art, 25

Attending each his proper station,
 And all in due subordination,

Through every alley to be found,
 In garrets high, or under ground,

And when they join their pericranies,
 Out skips a book of miscellanies 30

Hobbes clearly proves, that every creature
 Lives in a state of war by nature.

The greater for the smaller watch,
 But meddle seldom with their match.

A whale of moderate size will draw
A shoal of herrings down his maw,
A fox with geese his belly crams,
A wolf destroys a thousand lambs,
But search among the rhyming race, 5
The brave are worried by the base
If on Parnassus' top you sit,
You rarely bite, are always bit
Each poet of inferior size
On you shall rail and criticize, 10
And strive to tear you limb from limb,
While others do as much for him
The vermin only teaze and pinch
Their foes superior by an inch
So, naturalists observe, a flea 15
Has smaller fleas that on him prey,
And these have smaller still to bite 'em,
And so proceed *ad infinitum*
Thus every poet, in his kind,
Is bit by him that comes behind 20
Who, though too little to be seen,
Can teaze, and gall, and give the spleen,
Extol the Greek and Roman masters,
And curse our modern poetasters,
Complain, as many an ancient bard did, 25
How genius is no more rewarded,
How wrong a taste prevails among us,
How much our ancestors outsung us
Can personate an awkward scorn
For those who are not poets born, 30
And all their brother dunces lash,
Who crowd the press with hourly trash.

O Grub Street! how do I bemoan thee,
Whose graceless children scorn to own thee!

Their filial piety forgot,
Deny their country, like a Scot,
Though, by their idiom and grimace,
They soon betray their native place
Yet thou hast greater cause to be 5
Ashamed of them, than they of thee,
Degenerate from their ancient brood
Since first the court allow'd them food
Remains a difficulty still,
To purchase fame by writing ill 10
From Flecknoe down to Howard's time,
How few have reach'd the low sublime !
For when our high-born Howard died,
Blackmore alone his place supplied
And, lest a chasm should intervene, 15
When death had finish'd Blackmore's reign,
The leaden crown devolved to thee,
Great poet of the hollow tree
But ah ! how unsecure thy throne !
A thousand bards thy right disown 20
They plot to turn, in factious zeal,
Duncenia to a common weal,
And with rebellious arms pretend
An equal privilege to descend
In bulk there are not more degrees 25
From elephants to mites in cheese,
Than what a curious eye may trace
In creatures of the rhyming race
From bad to worse, and worse they fall
But who can reach the worst of all ? 30
For though, in nature, depth and height
Are equally held infinite
In poetry, the height we know ;
'Tis only infinite below.

For instance when you rashly think,
No rhymer can like Welsted sink,
His merits balanced, you shall find
The Laureate leaves him far behind
Concannen, more aspiring bard, 5
Soars downward deeper by a yard
Smart Jemmy Moore with vigour drops,
The rest pursue as thick as hops
With heads to point the gulf they enter,
Link'd perpendicular to the centre, 10
And as their heels elated rise,
Their heads attempt the nether skies
O, what indignity and shame,
To prostitute the Muses' name!
By flattering kings, whom Heaven design'd 15
The plagues and scourges of mankind,
Bred up in ignorance and sloth,
And every vice that nurses both
Fair Britain, in thy monarch blest,
Whose virtues bear the strictest test, 20
Whom never faction could bespatter,
Nor minister nor poet flatter,
What justice in rewarding merit!
What magnanimity of spirit!
What lineaments divine we trace 25
Through all his figure, mien, and face!
Though peace with olive binds his hands,
Confess'd the conquering hero stands
Hydaspes, Indus, and the Ganges,
Dread from his hand impending changes 30
From him the Tartar and Chinese,
Short by the knees, entreat for peace
The consort of his throne and bed,
A perfect goddess born and bred,

Appointed sovereign judge to sit
 On learning, eloquence, and wit
 Our eldest hope, divine Iulus,
 (Late, very late, O may he rule us !)
 What early manhood has he shewn, 5
 Before his downy beard was grown !
 Then think, what wonders will be done
 By going on as he begun,
 An heir for Britain to secure
 As long as sun and moon endure 10
 The remnant of the royal blood
 Comes pouring on me like a flood.
 Bright goddesses, in number five,
 Duke William, sweetest prince alive
 Now sing the minister of state, 15
 Who shines alone without a mate
 Observe with what majestic port
 This Atlas stands to prop the court
 Intent the public debts to pay,
 Like prudent Fabius, by delay 20
 Thou great vicegerent of the king,
 Thy praises every Muse shall sing !
 In all affairs thou sole director,
 Of wit and learning chief protector,
 Though small the time thou hast to spare, 25
 The church is thy peculiar care
 Of pious prelates what a stock
 You choose to rule the sable flock !
 You raise the honour of the peerage,
 Proud to attend you at the steerage 30
 You dignify the noble race,
 Content yourself with humbler place
 Now learning, valour, virtue, sense,
 To titles give the sole pretence

St George beheld thee with delight,
 Vouchsafe to be an azure knight,
 When on thy breast and sides Herculean,
 He fix'd the star and string cerulean

Say, poet, in what other nation 5
 Shone ever such a constellation !
 Attend, ye Popes, and Youngs, and Gays,
 And tune your harps, and strew your bays
 Your panegyrics here provide ,
 You cannot err on flattery's side 10
 Above the stars exalt your style,
 You still are low ten thousand mile
 On Lewis all his bards bestow'd
 Of incense many a thousand load ,
 But Europe mortified his pride, 15
 And swore the fawning rascals lied
 Yet what the world refused to Lewis,
 Applied to George, exactly true is
 Exactly true ! invidious poet !
 'Tis fifty thousand times below it 20

Translate me now some lines, if you can,
 From Virgil, Martial, Ovid, Lucan.
 They could all power in Heaven divide,
 And do no wrong on either side ,
 They teach you how to split a hair, 25
 Give George and Jove an equal share
 Yet why should we be laced so strait ?
 I'll give my monarch butter-weight
 And reason good , for many a year
 Jove never intermeddled here 30
 Nor, though his priests be duly paid,
 Did ever we desire his aid
 We now can better do without him,
 Since Woolston gave us arms to rout him

Cætera desiderantur

THE DAY OF JUDGMENT.

WITH a whirl of thought oppress'd,
 I sunk from reverie to rest
 An horrid vision seized my head,
 I saw the graves give up their dead !
 Jove, arm'd with terrors, bursts the skies, 5
 And thunder roars, and lightning flies !
 Amazed, confused, its fate unknown,
 The world stands trembling at his throne !
 While each pale sinner hung his head,
 Jove, nodding, shook the heavens, and said 10
 ' Offending race, of human kind,
 By nature, reason, learning, blind ,
 You who, through frailty, stepp'd aside ,
 And you, who never fell,—from pride
 You who in different sects were shamm'd, 15
 And come to see each other damn'd ,
 (So some folk told you, but they knew
 No more of Jove's designs than you,)
 —The world's mad business now is o'er,
 And I resent these pranks no more 20
 —I to such blockheads set my wit !
 I damn such fools !—Go, go, you're bit '

THE LEGION CLUB

1736

It was in writing this, the most envenomed of all his Satires, in which the *sæva indignatio* went furthest, and in which scarcely one gleam of the calmer and more controlled humour breaks in to lighten the darkness and gloom that were absorbing Swift's intellect, that his pen dropt from his hand, and his genius thenceforward was silent. The present version has been corrected by the MS now in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, but the alterations are few and unimportant. A few lines, which record now forgotten names, are omitted.

As I stroll the city, oft I	
See a building large and lofty,	
Not a bow-shot from the college,	
Half the globe from sense and knowledge	
By the prudent architect,	5
Placed against the church direct,	
Making good my grandam's jest,	
'Near the church'—you know the rest	
Tell us what the pile contains?	
Many a head that holds no brains	10
These, demoniacs, let me dub	
With the name of Legion Club	
Such assemblies, you might swear,	
Meet when butchers bait a bear	
Such a noise, and such haranguing,	15
When a brother thief's a-hanging	
Such a rout and such a rabble	
Run to hear Jackpudding gabble	
Such a crowd their ordure throws	
On a far less villain's nose	20

Could I from the building's top
Hear the rattling thunder drop,
While the devil upon the roof
(If the devil be thunder proof)
Should with poker fiery red 5
Crack the stones, and melt the lead,
Drive them down on every skull,
While the den of thieves is full,
Quite destroy that harpies' nest,
How might then our isle be blest ! 10
For divines allow, that God
Sometimes makes the devil his rod,
And the gospel will inform us,
He can punish sins enormous
Yet should Swift endow the schools, 15
For his lunatics and fools,
With a rood or two of land,
I allow the pile may stand
You perhaps will ask me, Why so ?
But it is with this proviso 20
Since the house is like to last,
Let the royal grant be pass'd,
That the club have right to dwell
Each within his proper cell,
With a passage left to creep in, 25
And a hole above for peeping
Let them, when they once get in,
Sell the nation for a pin,
While they sit a-picking straws,
Let them rave of making laws , 30
Let them form a grand committee,
How to plague and starve the city,
Let them stare, and storm, and frown,
When they see a clergy gown ,

Let them, ere they crack a louse,
Call for th' Orders of the House,
Let them with their gosling quills,
Scribble senseless heads of bills,
We may, while they strain their throats, 5
Light our bonfires with their votes

Let Sir Tom, that rampant ass,
Stuff his guts with flax and grass,
But before the priest he fleeces,
Tear the Bible all to pieces 10
At the parsons, Tom, halloo, boy,
Worthy offspring of a shoeboy,
Footman, traitor, vile seducer,
Perjured rebel, bribed accuser,
Lay thy paltry privilege aside, 15
Sprung from Papist, and a regicide,
Fall a-working like a mole,
Raise the dirt about your hole

Come, assist me, Muse obedient !
Let us try some new expedient, 20
Shift the scene for half an hour,
Time and place are in thy power
Thither, gentle Muse, conduct me,
I shall ask, and you instruct me

See, the Muse unbars the gate ; 25
Hark, the monkeys, how they prate !

All ye gods who rule the souls,
Where Styx through Hell his waters rolls !
Let me be allow'd to tell
What I heard in yonder Cell 30

Near the door an entrance gapes,
Crowded round with antic shapes,
Poverty, and Grief, and Care,
Causeless Joy, and true Despair,

Discord perriwigg'd with snakes,
See the dreadful strides she takes !

By this odious crew beset,
I began to rage and fret,
And resolved to break their pates, 5
Ere we enter'd at the gates ,
Had not Clio in the nick
Whisper'd me, 'Lay down your stick'
What ! said I, is this the mad-house ?
These, she answer'd, are but shadows, 10
Phantoms, bodiless and vain,
Empty visions of the brain

In the porch Briareus stands,
Shews a bribe in all his hands ,
Briareus the secretary, 15
But we mortals call him Carey
When the rogues their country fleece,
They may hope for pence a-piece

Clio, who had been so wise
To put on a fool's disguise, 20
To bespeak some approbation,
And be thought a near relation,
When she saw three hundred brutes
All involved in wild disputes,
Roaring till their lungs were spent, 25
PRIVILEGE OF PARLIAMENT,
Now a new misfortune feels,
Dreading to be laid by th' heels
Never durst a Muse before
Enter that infernal door, 30
Clio, stifled with the smell,
Into spleen and vapours fell,
By the Stygian steam that flew
From the dire infectious crew.

Not the stench of Lake Avernus
Could have more offended her nose ,
Had she flown but o'er the top,
She had felt her pinions drop
And by exhalations dire, 5
Though a goddess, must expire
In a fright she crept away,
Bravely I resolved to stay
When I saw the keeper frown,
Tipping him with half-a-crown, 10
Now, said I, we are alone,
Name your heroes one by one
Who is that hell-featured brawler ?
Is it Satan ? No, 'tis Waller
In what figure can a bard dress 15
Jack the grandson of Sir Hardress ?
Honest keeper, drive him further,
In his looks are Hell and murder ,
See the scowling visage drop,
Just as when he murder'd Throp. 20
Keeper, show me where to fix
On the puppy pair of Dicks
By their lantern jaws and leathern,
You might swear they both are brethren
Dick Fitzbaker, Dick the player, 25
Old acquaintance, are you there ?
Tie them, keeper, in a tether,
Let them starve and sink together ;
Both are apt to be unruly,
Lash them daily, lash them duly , 30
Though 'tis hopeless to reclaim them,
Scorpion rods, perhaps, may tame them
Keeper, yon old dotard smoke,
Sweetly snoring in his cloak

Who is he? 'Tis humdrum Wynne,
 Half encompass'd by his kin
 There observe the tribe of Bingham,
 For he never fails to bring 'em ,
 While he sleeps the whole debate, 5
 They submissive round him wait ,
 Yet would gladly see the hunks
 In his grave, and search his trunks.
 See, they gently twitch his coat,
 Just to yawn and give his vote, 10
 Always firm in this vocation,
 For the court against the nation
 Bless us! Morgan, art thou there, man?
 Bless mine eyes! art thou the chairman?
 Chairman to yon damn'd committee! 15
 Yet I look on thee with pity
 Dreadful sight! what, learned Morgan
 Metamorphosed to a Gorgon!
 For thy horrid looks, I own,
 Half convert me to a stone 20
 Hast thou been so long at school,
 Now to turn a factious tool?
Alma Mater was thy mother,
 Every young divine thy brother
 Thou, a disobedient varlet, 25
 Treat thy mother like a harlot!
 Thou ungrateful to thy teachers,
 Who are all grown reverend preachers!
 Morgan, would it not surprise one!
 Turn thy nourishment to poison! 30
 When you walk among your books,
 They reproach you with their looks,
 Bind them fast, or from their shelves
 They will come and right themselves

Homer, Plutarch, Virgil, Flaccus,
 All in arms, prepare to back us .
 Soon repent, or put to slaughter
 Every Greek and Roman author
 Will you, in your faction's phrase, 5
 Send the clergy all to graze ,
 And to make your project pass,
 Leave them not a blade of grass ?
 How I want thee, humorous Hogarth
 Thou, I hear, a pleasant rogue art 10
 Were but you and I acquainted,
 Every monster should be painted
 You should try your graving tools
 On this odious group of fools ,
 Draw the beasts as I describe them 15
 Form their features while I gibe them ,
 Draw them like , for I assure you,
 You will need no *car'atura* ,
 Draw them so that we may trace
 All the soul in every face 20
 Keeper, I must now retire,
 You have done what I desire
 But I feel my spirits spent
 With the noise, the sight, the scent
 'Pray, be patient , you shall find 25
 Half the best are left behind !
 You have hardly seen a score ,
 I can show two hundred more '
 Keeper, I have seen enough.
 Taking then a pinch of snuff, 30
 I concluded, looking round them,
 'May their god, the devil, confound them !
 Except the righteous fifty-two
 To whom immortal honour's due '

SWIFT was buried in St Patrick's, on the 22nd of October, 1745, by the instructions of his will, privately, at midnight, and on a tablet of black marble, in 'large letters, deeply cut, and strongly gilded,' was inscribed the following epitaph, of his own composition —

HIC DEPOSITUM EST CORPUS
JONATHAN SWIFT, S T P
HUIUS ECCLESIAE CATHEDRALIS
DECANI
UBI SÆVA INDIGNATIO
ULTERIUS COR LACERARE NEQUIT
ABI VIATOR
ET IMITARE, SI POTERIS,
STRENUUM PRO VIRILI LIBERTALIS VINDICEM
OBIIT ANNO [1745]
MENSIS [OCTOBRIS] DIE [19]
ÆTAT ANNO [78]

NOTES.



FREE THOUGHTS ON PRESENT STATE OF AFFAIRS.

Page 2, l 17 *Lysander* The Spartan general, towards the close of the Peloponnesian war, who maintained his influence and that of his country rather by intrigue and stratagem than by the more upright methods of his rival Callicratidas, with whom Plutarch contrasts him. Swift's authority for such references is generally Plutarch, and it is he who cites Lysander's motto, 'when the lion's skin will not protect us, we must sew the fox's skin to it'. The names of the others, whom Swift adduces as specimens of 'mysterious skill,' are too familiar to require comment.

3, l 12 *A great foreign minister* Possibly the Duc d'Aumont, French ambassador, whom Swift names frequently in the *Journal to Stella*.

4, l 3 *who often mould them into systems, &c* The genesis of much imposing political theory, and of much specious historical narrative, could scarcely be more succinctly, or more contemptuously, described than in the next few lines.

1-24. *imputed to the profound skill and address of a minister* It is hardly possible to avoid the conclusion that Swift had Lord Oxford in his mind in this and the following sentence. Oxford's sluggish indifference and want of candour often provoked Swift, in spite of his sincere regard, and during this period of suspense that provocation was probably strong, although Oxford's final downfall revived Swift's affection. In the *Inquiry into the behaviour of the Queen's last Ministry*, Swift again refers, almost in the same words, to this trait in Oxford's character.

5, l 1 *drawn from the nature and disposition of the several persons concerned* The characters of Oxford and Bolingbroke (to whose dissensions Swift here alludes) were in such striking contrast, that it was tempting to hazard conjectures as to their part in the quarrel. Swift probably knew that the strife amongst the Queen's ladies in waiting was the proximate cause of difficulty.

1 10 *the situation of affairs* Swift's view seems to be that there was more foundation for these disputes than mere personal jealousy or intrigues at Court, and that as Oxford rested for support upon the moderate party, and Bolingbroke represented the bolder Tories who were ready to make terms with Jacobitism (although Swift never knew the full extent of Bolingbroke's Jacobite schemes) the breach between the two was inevitable

1 31 *arcana imperii* The phrase is used by Tacitus in the 2nd Book of the Annals and, curiously enough, in connexion with Tiberius, whom Swift has just adduced as a specimen of 'mysterious skill'

6, 1 12 *free from any tincture of avarice* A virtue which Swift frequently ascribed both to Oxford and Bolingbroke

7, 1 11 *by adhering to a faction* Swift refers to those who, as he often complains, hindered Oxford's efforts after peace, not from any real disapproval, but only because the Whig party, to which they gave their allegiance, were opposed to them 'The bulk of the Whigs,' says Swift in the *Examiner*, 'appears rather to be linked to a certain set of persons, than any certain set of principles'

1 12 *while the court is enslaved to the impatience of others* This refers to the hotter Tories, belonging to the October Club, who had always been a thorn in the side of Oxford, and whom Swift had endeavoured to moderate

1 22 *her former ministers* = Godolphin and the Whig junta

1 33 *the inferior clergy almost to a man* But, as Swift often complains, the Episcopal bench was chiefly filled by Whig nominees

8, 1 19 *the minister alone* = Oxford, as Lord Treasurer, who either from want of security in his party, or from constitutional backwardness, certainly failed to push his advantage as he might have done, and allowed even the Peace negotiations to be too much delayed

1 21 *The whimsicals* were those supporters of the Ministry who, in their jealousy of the extreme Tories, carried their moderation so far as to be almost ready to coalesce with the Whigs

9, 1 5 *some grounds for this supposition* It is clear that Oxford had some hope of being able to form a combined party of the moderates on both sides, who could defy the extreme Tories as well as the extreme Whigs

10, 1 1 *the trial of Dr Sacheverell* The well-known, and ill-judged prosecution of Sacheverell, by Godolphin, for personal attacks made in a sermon preached before the Lord Mayor This was the proximate cause of the downfall of the Whig Ministry in 1710

1. 21, *the October Club* To whom Swift formerly addressed

a letter, urging moderation, although he appears now to have thought that the fears they excited were ill founded

11, l 11 *they have been frequently deserted* As in the debates upon the Peace, when Nottingham (or *Dismal*, as he was nicknamed) opposed the Government

12, l 18 *Some affected to be uneasy about the succession* As they were afterwards proved to have had good reasons for being, although Swift was privy to none of the Jacobite designs of Bolingbroke

l 24 The blanks may probably be filled up by the Lord Treasurer and the Secretary (Bolingbroke)

l 32 *dissensions between the great men at court*, l e the quarrel between Oxford and Bolingbroke

13, l 21 *his, who had two poisons given him together of contrary operations* This appears to be an allusion to the attempted poisoning of Dorax, in Dryden's *Don Sebastian*, by the Mufti and Benducar, each of whom gave him a poison—the one an antidote to the other 'Thus,' says Dorax, 'when Heaven pleases, double poisons cure' It is strange that Swift should seek an illustration from Dryden's Works

14, l 10 *republicans* The use of the word here is certainly strange Swift cannot possibly refer to any party who openly advocated republican forms of civil government, because no such party existed Nor can the word refer to Presbyterianism as a republican form of Church government, since the Presbyterians were not secret, but avowed, enemies of the Church It is probably used to denote those who professed to place the republic, or secular commonwealth, before the interests of the Church

l 20 *topics* Used here, as elsewhere (e g p 5, l 1) by Swift and his contemporaries, not for heads or subjects of discourse, but as = arguments, or commonplace reasons

l 33 *the Successor* The Elector had, perhaps, better reason than Swift supposed for holding that the Whig party were his best friends

15, l 4 *it shall not be in the power of the Crown.* It is odd that Swift should suggest such an object on the part of the crown, during the lifetime of Queen Anne Swift no doubt had fears of the future in his mind, and in spite of what he has just said, the hint shows that the Elector might expect to rouse the suspicions of the Tory party

l 11 *to guard a prince under a high court of justice*, l e as Charles I was guarded by the troops of Cromwell

l 17 *discover their impatience to see it at an end* The negotiations for the Peace had produced much disaffection in the army, and in some cases the expression of it had been so outrageous that certain officers were broke for the offence See p 29, l 7

l 24 *Of refusing to obey their general* Swift refers to what appears to be the circumstance here alluded to, in his *Inquiry into the behaviour of the Queen's Last Ministry* 'Among the horse and foot guards appointed to attend on the Queen's person, several officers took every occasion, with great freedom and bitterness of speech, to revile the ministry and not without many gross expressions against the Queen herself' and an extensive cashiering of such officers was contemplated See Vol I p 813, l 19 (note)

l 31 *Those who are paid to be defenders of the civil power will stand ready for any acts of violence* Swift's objections to a standing army were reiterated and unvaried See p 233, l 22 (note)

16, l 23 *a person of some consequence* This probably refers to Swift's own experience If it is necessary to find some one other than Swift, as his supposed informant, the name of Erasmus Lewis would naturally occur

l 30 Such lamentations, in the mouth of Bolingbroke, can only have been uttered in order to lead Swift off the scent

17, l 3 *is altogether inconsiderable* Swift was mistaken as to the designs of some of those whose opinions were, as he thought, fully known to him He was equally mistaken in his estimate of the strength of the Jacobite party in the nation The accession which that party was to derive from the Scottish highlands was, of course, a matter as incalculable by Swift as the occurrence of an earthquake

l 13 *nommal prince* Swift avoids the use of the word *Pretender*, which had become a mark of party. but he uses a phrase which to a Jacobite would seem equally contemptuous

l 14 *the vulgar* The doubts cast upon the birth of the son of James II, although perhaps encouraged by the Whigs, were not seriously entertained, and were only intended to influence the populace

l 20 *Mr Lesley* Charles Lesley, or Leslie, was of Scottish descent, and of Irish birth Like his father (the Bishop of Clogher) before him, he was an ardent royalist, but his attachment was even stronger to the Church than to the Crown, and he did not hesitate, in the reign of James II, to resist the illegal steps taken by the King, in favour of Roman Catholicism After the Revolution, however, his adherence to divine right principles made him join the Nonjuring party and he was at this time living at Bar-le-Duc, having gone there in the hope of converting the prince to Protestantism—an errand which proved as ineffectual as Swift here predicts it would.

l 23 *Intellectuals* Cf note on p 161, l 28 of Vol I

18, l 11 *the doctrines of passive obedience, non resistance, and hereditary right* Swift was no adherent, himself, of these doctrines and although he may have been right in foretelling that they would eventually become buttresses of the Hanoverian house, there is very little evidence that in 1714 they contributed any strength to its position

l 17 *high-principled*, i e supporters of High Church and Tory principles

l 24 *during the greatest licentiousness of the press*, i e before the Stamp Act of the Harley administration had checked the excesses of Grub Street

19, l 10 *ignorant unmannerly messengers from thence* Swift more than once shows his contempt for Bothmar, the Hanoverian envoy, who was in close alliance with the Whigs

l 12 *a memorial* Swift speaks somewhat vaguely, and probably not quite accurately, about this Memorial The Memorial presented by Bothmar, when the Peace was under discussion, was printed and circulated, and was assailed as a party manifesto under the disguise of a communication from a foreign court But it contains no such stipulation as that mentioned by Swift On the other hand, the proposal to bring a representative of the House of Hanover to England had been frequently mooted from 1705 onward It had not been pressed chiefly by the Whigs but had been used by the Tories, who relied upon its being thoroughly distasteful to the Queen, as a means of embroiling her with her Whig Ministries Such, at least, is the account of the matter given by Burnet The project may have been started again by the Court of Hanover, and the Electress Sophia, in spite of her great age, seems to have been inclined to it but the contents of such a communication, even if made, could only have been matter of conjecture The point which was really pressed by the Whigs, as a means of securing the Protestant succession, was the provision for a Council of Regency, whose authority was to begin immediately on the demise of the Queen

l 28 The phrase was one repeatedly used by Steele and his arrogant assumption of speaking in the name of the nation was a common topic of ridicule See *Guardian* of Aug 7, 1713

20, l 26 *were of the number* We need not be surprised at the false concord in the verb, keeping in view Swift's usual carelessness in such matters But elsewhere he avoids the error, where its avoidance helped a rhyme—

'St John, as well as Pulteney, knows
That I had some repute for prose'

21, l 10 *only*. Compare the position of this adverb with that of

alone in l 17, and *entirely* in l 18, as shewing Swift's disregard of the rule which requires the adverb to be in juxtaposition with the words which it qualifies

l 20 In the following paragraph Swift seems rather to go back from his condemnation of the supposed proposals in the Memorial, and either to make a concession to the scheme urged by the Tories, in opposition, in 1705, or to suggest a compromise by bringing over the young prince, afterwards George II

l 27 *that impatience which the frailty of human nature gives to expecting heirs* Swift's words are curious when we think of the line of conduct which was to be followed by successive heirs during the next two generations Swift himself was to be one of those who saw the levee at Leicester House more 'frequented than the antechamber of St James's'

23, l 9 The House of Hanover was attached to the Lutheran creed and Swift wishes to fix upon the Whigs the doctrines of Calvinism

24, l 4 *the only reason* This undoubtedly agrees with the view of the matter given by Burnet in his *History of his own Time*

ARGUMENT AGAINST ABOLISHING CHRISTIANITY.

Page 26, l 3 *with great justice* Swift speaks, of course, ironically

l 5 *forbidden upon several penalties* This is, of course, exaggeration but there was undoubtedly some suspicion of Jacobitism attached to those who were prominent in opposition to the Union, while in Scotland the government were compelled to take severe repressive measures against the violent form in which the opposition threatened to show itself

l 9 *the fundamental law* Swift's profound respect for that 'fundamental law' is shewn by the treatise promised, with mock solemnity, in the *Tale of a Tub*, in which the author is to 'defend the proceedings of the Rabble in all Ages' (See Vol I p 96)

27, l 1 *allow from* = 'allow (judging) from,' or 'allow to be the natural inference from'

l 24. *After the fate of* The phrase is rather an unusual *σνε*, formed by analogy from 'after the fashion of.'

l 32 *mistaken* = taken in a wrong sense or misapprehended

28, l 12 *proposal of Horace* In the 16th *Epode* Horace puts into

poetical form the aspiration in which Sertorius, according to Plutarch, actually indulged, to sail to the Blessed Isles in order to escape from tyranny and endless wars

29, l 6 *lately found by a severe instance* I have been unable to verify this But we may compare somewhat similar references on p 15, ll 17 and 24 (notes)

l 22 *abuse the government, and reflect upon the ministry* The drift of the satire naturally leads us to judge that these would be no great crimes in Swift's opinion and if so, his alliance with the existing Whig government was shaken even in 1708

Swift's satire suggests that politics might be unduly attractive, if religion did not take its place He might have carried his sarcasm a step further; had he been living now The other day, a prominent London daily journal opened its columns freely to a religious discussion, under the tasteful title, 'Is Christianity played out?' It proved wonderfully attractive *during the recess* On the 31st of January, 1893, the following notice was published by this enterprising print 'As Parliament meets to-day, and as we require all the space we can spare to reporting its proceedings, this correspondence must now close The great interest the discussion has aroused is proved by the fact that nearly 2000 correspondents have contributed to it'

l 25 *deorum offensa dus curae* The reference is to Tacitus, Annals, Bk I Ch 73, *Deorum injurias dus curae* Some one was accused to Tiberius of having violated the divinity of Augustus by a false oath 'Augustus is no doubt a god,' was in effect the answer of Tiberius, 'but it is for the gods to punish their own wrongs' The passage is referred to again in the next treatise (see p 44, l 3)

30, l 1 *offence to the allies* The same argument is repeated on p 40, l 25

l 16 *which reflect upon the wisdom of the nation* But according to Swift, this was just what could be done with impunity in England See *Tale of a Tub* (Vol I p 95, l 15)

l 21 *the trumpet lately written* From the turn of the satire we might have expected some complimentary word to be applied to these writings But Swift perhaps distrusted his readers' aptness to interpret such a word in a sarcastic sense

Asgl John Asgl (1659-1738) was one of the most odd amongst the figures of Swift's day He was educated as a lawyer, and his connexion with some of the forfeited lands in Ireland involved him in lengthy litigation which gave him a personal interest in the niceties of law He was a member of the Irish Parliament, from which he was expelled as the author of a book adjudged to be subversive of sound doctrine, and in 1712 he was expelled from the English Parliament on the same ground. He contended in his writings that the Gospel

dispensation freed humanity from the necessity of death but what he really intended by this, it is hard to say. Amongst his contemporaries he was treated partly as a madman, partly as one tinged with the doctrines of the Deists, and partly as a humourist. Southey, in his *Doctor*, writes of him at some length, and holds that he was a man who suffered from the prejudices of the day. Coleridge found him worthy of a good deal of attention but, with some inconsistency, he treats Asgill as a serious, although mistaken, theological writer, and also as a master of humour. According to Coleridge (*Literary Remains*) 'he was a thorough humourist' 'his irony was often finer than Swift's' and at the same time his was 'the ablest attempt to exhibit a scheme of religion without ideas,' and Coleridge seems to think that his defect was chiefly a predominance of the intellectual over the spiritual faculty. To most readers, both these views of Asgill will probably appear paradoxical, and he will be set down as little else than a whimsical and hare-brained player with words. 'If I act on my motto,' he says in one place, 'and go the way of an eagle in the air, then have I played a trump upon Death, and shewn myself a match for the Devil.'

Tindal and *Toland* were two of the Deists or Latitudinarians of the day, who have suffered, perhaps unduly, from the fact that their speculations drew upon them the attacks of all the strongest intellects of the day, to whatever party they belonged. *Tindal* was a civilian, and Fellow of All Souls, and his character for integrity suffered from the fact that under James II he was willing from selfish motives to join the Roman Catholic Church, from which he returned to the Anglican Communion. His best known work was that entitled *The Rights of the Christian Church Asserted*, which contained a virulent attack on the priesthood, and was ordered by the House of Commons in 1710 to be burnt by the hangman. *James Junius Toland* was a man of utterly worthless character, whose work, entitled *Christianity not Mysterious*, exaggerated the more cautious tenets of Locke, and led to the controversy in which Stillingfleet accused Locke of having given his countenance to the dangerous rationalism of his weaker and more incautious disciple. Besides dabbling in theology, he was mixed up in some discreditable episodes as a political spy, and, curiously enough, seems to have been employed at one time by Swift's patron, Oxford.

122 *Coward* (1657-1725) was a medical man who wrote a book against the existence of the soul as something separate from the body, and who, like Toland, by his crude interpretation of the theories of Locke, involved himself in the fierce attacks of which the latitudinarians were the object.

1 30 *Empson and Dudley* The notorious agents of Henry VII, whose success in straining the statute law enabled him to amass a revenue, but who were executed after the accession of Henry VIII—much as his power was increased by their efforts under his father

31, 1 17 *rent* In the French sense, of 'income' or 'revenue'

1 28 *the wise regulations of Henry the Eighth*, i.e. his plunder of Church revenues

32, 1 8 *Cavil* One of the words, like *banter*, which Swift detested, and used in mockery of current slang

1 15 *the chocolate houses* These were few in number compared with the very numerous coffee-houses. In the latter gaming seems to have been forbidden, while *White's* and the Cocoa-House, which were the principal Chocolate Houses, were notorious gambling houses. In the first paper of the *Spectator*, the Spectator describes himself as haunting the various places of resort, and adds, 'I appear on Sunday nights at the St James's Coffee-House'

33, 1 2 *I would submit and be silent* The sarcasm here has all the more force, inasmuch as Swift never lamented, but only despised, party divisions. They were a part of the *ludibrium rerum humanarum*, in which his cynicism found a certain enjoyment. To sacrifice a jot to end them was the last thing he would have thought of

1 17 *heydukes*, or hajduks, rulers of certain districts into which the kingdom of Hungary was divided

Mamelukes The cavalry of the Sultan, formed originally of Caucasian slaves, who made themselves the disposers of power

mandarins, a general term for state officers in China
Patshaws is Swift's spelling of Pashas. The terms are evidently quoted quite at random

1 19 *who would be in, if they could* The words are not so respectful as those which Swift would have used afterwards of his later Tory friends

1 22 *The Monument* Wren's memorial of the great fire of 1666 was completed in 1677. The inscription, which ascribed the fire to the Papists, was the cause of much controversy.

1 26 *Margarita* Francesca Margherita de l'Epine had begun her career as a singer in Opera some years before, and continued it for some years longer. She attained a high place, owing it not to personal attractions, but to her skill as a musician. She is said to have been the first Italian who sang in Opera in England, and was known generally as 'the Italian woman.' Swift speaks of her in the *Journal*, Aug. 6, 1711. 'We have a musical meeting in our town (Windsor) to-night. I went to the rehearsal of it, and there was Margarita and her sister, and another drab, and a parcel of fiddlers, I

was weary, and would not go to the meeting, which I am sorry for, because I heard it was a great assembly'

Mrs Tofts Mrs Catherine Tofts was a younger rival of Margarita, and is said to have been 'the first of English birth who sang in Italian Opera in England' Cibber speaks of her as no adept in the art, 'yet whatever defect the fashionably skillful might find in her manner, she had in the general sense of her spectators, charms that few of the most learned singers ever arrive at The beauty of her fine proportioned figure, and exquisitely sweet, silver tone of her voice, with that peculiar, rapid, swiftness of her throat, were perfections not to be imitated by art or labour' Her popularity seems to have upset the balance of her mind, and in 1709 she went mad Steele speaks of her in No 20 of the *Tatler*, under the name of Camilla, as one 'who has had the ill-luck to break before her voice, and to disappear at a time when her beauty was in the height of its bloom She entered so thoroughly into the great characters she acted, that when she had finished her part, she could not think of retrenching her equipage, but would appear in her own lodgings with the same magnificence that she did upon the stage . She now passes her time among the woods and forests, thinking on the crowns and sceptres she has lost'

Trimmers A party name in vogue in the days of Charles II, to describe those who endeavoured to steer a middle course between those who supported the Crown and those who wished to set aside the Duke of York in favour of a Protestant successor

1 27 *Valentin* An Italian opera singer, who frequently appeared with Margarita and Mrs Tofts, and as frequently was involved in jealous quarrels with them The zeal of the supporters of each favourite led at one time to a disturbance at Drury Lane

1 28 *Prasini and Veneti* The chariot races at Rome gave rise to four factions, the *Albati*, the *Russati*, the *Prasini*, and the *Veneti*. Of these the *Prasini* (greens) and the *Veneti* (blues) were the chief, and their opposition was carried on in Constantinople, and involved the empire in fierce civil war under Justinian

34, 1 15 *The wisdom of the nation has taken special care* The check upon the importation of French silks and wines began with the French war, and the implied sneer shows that Swift had already begun to doubt the justice or expediency of the war

1 26 *prejudices of education* A favourite topic with the Deists, Atheists, and Latitudinarians, whom Swift was never tired of attacking as alhes, and, indeed, as identical in aim, under their variety of nomenclature.

35, 1 13 *string of those weeds* A *string* was used in the sense of a shoot or fibre of a plant.

1 19 *who hold religion to have been the invention of politicians* Cf p 43, l 8, where Swift puts this view into the mouth of Collins, and observe Swift's more complete view of such a position in the *Examiner*, No 29, 'if (a man) according to the common atheistical notion believes religion to be only a contrivance of politicians for keeping the vulgar in awe, and that the present model is better adjusted than any other to so useful an end although the condition of such a man, as to his own future state, be very deplorable yet Providence, which often works good out of evil, can make even such a man an instrument for contributing toward the preservation of the Church' Swift repudiated the notion but his own idea of religion was not entirely inconsistent with such a view

1 30 Note the distinction between the topic of this paragraph and that dealt with in the last paragraph on p 32 This is an attack especially on the Dissenters the other was an attack upon the evils of party politics

36, l 2 *A scheme for comprehension*,—which Swift always thought to be a mere device of the Latitudinarians, or enemies of the Church 'What assurances can the clergy have,' he asks in the *Sentiments of a Church of England man*, 'that any compliances they shall make will remove the evil of Dissension, while the liberty still continues of professing what opinions we please? Or how can it be imagined that the body of dissenting teachers, who must be all undone by such a revolution, will not cast about for some new objections to withhold their flocks, and draw in fresh proselytes by some further innovations or refinements?'

1 16 *Does the Gospel anywhere prescribe*, &c Observe how the mention of the Dissenters at once brings Swift into the mood in which he wrote the *Tale of a Tub*, where the largest measure of sarcasm is dealt out to the Dissenters under the name of *Jack*. Cf the description, Vol I p 162

1 25 *will burst out, and set all in a flame* Cf the passage in the *Tale of a Tub*, in Vol I p 171

1 26 *by flinging men a few ceremonies to devour* Again a reminiscence of the *Tale of a Tub* (see Vol I p 87)

1 30 *The institution of convents* Convents here stand for the Bedlams of the *Tale of a Tub* Cf Vol I p 172

37, l 17 *Choquet*, taken directly, according to Swift's frequent practice, from the French *choquer*

1 27 *of a parallel nature* This argument rests upon the injustice of depriving the Wits of a subject of railery in religion the previous paragraph deals with the equal injustice of taking from them subjects of ridicule in the clergy

38, l 4 *who would ever have suspected Asgyl for a wit* See note on p 30, l 21 Coleridge, strangely enough, found that wit in Asgyl, which Swift thought was provided for him only by 'the inexhaustible stock of Christianity'

l 9 *Tindal* See note on p 30, l 21

l 10 *the wise choice of the subject* Cf (for exactly the same saying) the *Tale of a Tub*, Vol I p 191, l 15

l 14 *Nor do I think it wholly groundless, &c* The natural drift of the satire, and the line followed in regard to the other topics, would suggest that Swift put forward the danger to the Church as something which he himself considered only matter for ridicule, though it might be considered seriously by his opponents. This, of course, cannot possibly be his meaning and the irony therefore consists in his putting forward timidly and only as something not absolutely inconceivable, the tenet (which he himself held most tenaciously, and which he placed in the forefront of his religious and political creed), that the interests of the church and of religion were absolutely identical

l 18 *I am far from presuming to affirm*—what Swift would, and did, most strenuously, affirm

l 28 *the jus divinum of Episcopacy* For which Philemon contended so firmly (see p 349, l 28)

39, l 15 *The Rights of the Christian Church* The book in which Tindal attacked the order of priesthood See note on p 30, l 21

40, l 25 *who, as it happens, are all Christians* Cf p 30, l 1

l 30 *as he is so his people* 'As—so' here are exactly equivalent to 'not only—but also'

MR. COLLINS'S DISCOURSE OF FREE-THINKING.

ANTHONY COLLINS (1676-1729) was a country gentleman of fair abilities and some learning, both of which appeared to himself more considerable than they were, and such vanity with such equipment was most likely to make him an adherent of the Deist School. The adherents of that school were not destined to wage a very successful warfare against orthodoxy in the days of Swift. Learning, wit, and the popular voice were all against them, and if the world pardons its dullness to orthodoxy, it does not readily forgive the dullness of those who attack orthodoxy, defended by all the resources of learning and of wit. They succeeded in uniting against themselves the learning of Bentley, the eloquence of Atterbury, the Whiggism of Addison and

Steele and the sarcasm of Swift and, worst of all, they were disowned by the more cautious philosophy of Locke, from whose storehouse they fancied they had borrowed their tools. Collins had already been the object of the heavy artillery of Bentley, who wrote against him as *Phileutheros Lipsiensis*, and scattered to the winds his pretensions to learning. Steele (*Guardian* No 3) has no words too strong for him and his kind. 'They are a set of dry, joyless, dull fellows, who want capacities and talents to make a figure amongst mankind, upon benevolent and generous principles, that think to surmount their own natural meanness by laying offences in the way of such as make it their endeavour to excel upon the received maxims and honest arts of life.' Of Collins, he says, 'the poor man is certainly more of a blockhead than an atheist,' and, his indignation increasing, he closes his paper with the words, 'If ever man deserved to be denied the common benefits of air and water, it is the author of a *Discourse upon Freethinking*'.

Whatever we may think of Steele's persecuting zeal, his contempt is certainly not misplaced. There is a tone of would be sprightliness and banter about the *Discourse*, an affectation of pithiness in the style, and an air of self satisfaction throughout the whole, that become insufferably tiresome after a while.

He gave Swift an opportunity which is used with consummate skill. No man was ever condemned so completely by his own mouth. Swift's abstract is scarcely a caricature: the greater part of it is simply a transcript of Collins's own words. What Swift has done is simply to make it readable, by dropping the ponderous show of learned quotation, and to set it forth in all its real absurdity, by passing lightly over some of the arguments, exaggerating a few words, and adding here and there a few words that show its crudeness, so that what was meant for a serious philosophical treatise becomes nothing more than a piece of irony that takes its place by the side of the *Treatise against abolishing Christianity*.

Page 43 *Introduction*. This is almost the only part which is Swift's own, and it serves admirably to bring the reader into the proper mood for what follows.

l 8 *Crafty, designing men*. Cf note on p 35, l 19.

l 27 *our friends*. Swift has now no measures to keep with the Whigs, and identifies them absolutely with the unpopular band of Deists.

l 29 *who suffer so many free speeches*. Swift always urged that what he thought the mistaken leniency of Oxford was an encouragement to disaffection.

44, l 3 *with Tiberius*. See note on p 29, l 25.

l 9 *to somebody, Esq* The introductory letter of the Discourse was addressed to — Esq

l 18 *White's and Tom's* White's Chocolate House was the resort of the fashionable men about town, and the gamblers Tom's was a house of the same sort, at 17 Russell Street, Covent Garden, called after Tom West the landlord

l 19 *the Kit Cat and Hanover Clubs* Both these were Clubs where Whig principles and the Hanoverian succession were strongly supported The Kit-Cat, which had a country resort at Barn-Elms, lasted only for twenty years, from 1700 to 1720, it was a noted rendezvous of the Whig nobility, was well known for its custom of toasting the reigning beauties of the day, and has given its name to a special type of half-length portraits, of which the Club made a collection, still preserved at Bayfordbury

l 21 *their several toasts* The ladies whose healths were toasted at such places, especially at the Kit-Cat

l 25 '*the continuance of the war*' The party cry of the Whigs, whom Swift thus identifies with the Deists

45, l 12 The opening lines are an exact transcript from Collins The sentence 'those truths which nobody can deny, will do no good to those who deny them,' is the very reverse of Swift's usual lucidity, and represents Collins's effort to be pithy which succeeds only in being obscure 'Apologies for self-evident truths can never have any effect on those who have so little sense as to deny them'

l 25 *Civil, ecclesiastical history, &c* The long string of subjects is transcribed literally from Collins, who has here a passage on Homer in which he might have had an ambition to make himself the object of the satire in the *Tale of a Tub* (Vol I p 142, l 10)

46, l 26 *The Devil was in the States-General, &c* Here again the words are very nearly those of Collins, only altered so far as to make them a little more ridiculous than in the original

47, l 2 *Dr Sacheverell has given him commission, &c* 'From the time of Dr Sacheverell, when the clamours against freethinking began to be loudest, the Devil has again resumed his empire and appears in the shape of cats, and enters into confederacy with old women' Collins

l 13 *those who live in corners cannot be favourites of God* 'They make God talk to all mankind from corners and have favourite nations and people, without any consideration of merit' Collins

l 20 The argument and instances are exactly those of Collins, even to the citation of the King of Siam, and the divines who are to be sent to Siam are indicated by Collins in letters that sufficiently mark their identity

48, l 5 *the war would go on* 'Our arms would triumph abroad,' is the phrase Collins uses, which expressed the Whig desire for the continuance of the war, less baldly

l 12 *or any Anabaptist, Papist, Muggletoman, Jew or Sweetsinger* 'Or other religious person,' are the words of Collins Swift saw the advantage of specific detail *Sweet singers* was the name specially given to a short-lived sect of wailing fanatics which sprang up in Scotland in 1681 but it was also used to describe the more outrageously indecent sect of the Ranters, who infested England in the middle of the seventeenth century They, as well as the Muggletonians, are mentioned in the *Tatler*, No 217

l 17 *who denies the divinity of Christ* Interpolated by Swift For *Whiston*, see note on p 58, l 28

49, l 7 *The Indian Bramins have a book of scripture called the Shaster, &c* All the learned allusions which follow are from Collins *Shaster* or *Shashtra* (lit a book) is the name applied to the authoritative books of Brahminism The *Zendavesta* is the series of commentaries on the sacred books of the Parsees The *Bonzees* were properly the Buddhist priests in Japan, transferred in travellers' accounts to the priests of China *Fo* or *Fohe* was the Chinese representation of the name Buddha To the very restricted knowledge of the religions of the East, possessed by Englishmen in Collins's day, all these were little more than names, and consequently his citations have an appearance, without any reality, of scholarship

50, l 33 *a bishop* This was Jeremy Taylor, the boldness of whose religious enthusiasm, little as it had in common with the latitudinarianism of such as Collins, yet found little sympathy from Swift

51, l 6 The next paragraph is taken almost directly from Collins Dr South is well known Dr George Bull, author of the *Doctrine of the Primitive Church concerning the Trinity*, was made Bishop of St David's under the Whig government, which he consistently supported He died in 1710 Dr Wallis (1616-1703) was Professor of Geometry at Oxford, and involved in controversies both political and religious See note on p 264, l 27

l 23 *very weakly, with great vigour* The absurd antithesis is from Collins, who says 'South and Edwards have with great vigour (though it must be confessed very weakly) lately attacked Dr Whitby' Dr John Edwards of Cambridge was a prominent controversialist on the Calvinistic side, while Daniel Whitby after writing the *Protestant Reconciler* on behalf of dissenters, recanted his views, as indeed he did at various periods of his life At one time he wrote against the doctrine of the Trinity

l 25 *Mr Whiston* See note on p 58, l 28.

l 31 *Dr Henry More*, the mystic, whose name was not likely to have much weight with Swift

the most pious and rational of all priests, Dr Tillotson The epithets are those used by Collins Tillotson, a Whig in politics, and a latitudinarian in religion, did not command Swift's sympathy, although elsewhere mentioned by Swift with respect See p 74, l 15

52, l 14 *and the force of my argument lies here* This and similar sentences, which point out the flimsiness of Collins's arguments, and sometimes give special prominence to parenthetical remarks which were intended as insults to the Church, are all interpolations by Swift Cf the last sentence of the paragraph, which is a similar interpolation, and also the sentence introduced by *ergo*, at the close of the next paragraph

53, l 14 *their acknowledgment of abuses* Collins quotes the Rev Dr Grabe, 'supported by Her Majesty, and employed against Mr Whiston,' as complaining of a deviation from some of the practices of the primitive Church Swift does not quote the name, as he was not prepared to give his countenance to the somewhat timid and pedantic orthodoxy of Grabe

l 15 *eating black pudding* Another laxity in the modern Church, complained of by Grabe, was the 'eating of blood and things strangled,' against the precept of Tertullian, who said that one of the means by which the Pagans discovered the tenets of the early Christians was that of trying whether they would eat black pudding Such remnants of Judaical strictness were no essential part of Christian observances, according to Swift's views

l 23 *an honest freethinking bishop* Dr William Wake, now Bishop of Lincoln, was one of the opponents of Sacheverell, and was afterwards promoted to the Archbishopric of Canterbury The words quoted from Atterbury are from the Preface to his Tract on the *Rights of Convocation*

l 28. *Mr Whiston*. William Whiston (1667-1752) was a clergyman whose early friendship with Newton led him into speculations on the relations between science and religion These gained him some reputation His notions on the Trinity became more and more antagonistic to the orthodox views, and eventually cost him his position in the Church He believed himself to be striving for a primitive form of Christianity but mental restlessness and vanity led to his being discarded by those who had favoured his earlier speculations His controversy on monogamy is familiar to readers of the *Vicar of Wakefield*

l 29 *A bishop* Whiston quotes the letter, but the name of the bishop is not given

54, l 26 *Mr Gildon, Dr Tindal Mr Toland, and myself* Collins does not give these names, but the more respectable ones of Tillotson and Cudworth For *Tindal* and *Toland*, see note on p 80, l 21 *Gildon* is Charles Gildon, chiefly known as the critic who wrote against Addison's papers on Milton in the *Spectator*, and as provoking Pope to refer to 'Gildon's venal quill' He indulged also in theological controversy, and in Deistical professions

55, l 15 *several young students, who were afterwards priests* These are Swift's words Collins gives the names, and calls them divines, coupling them, as admirers of Creech, with 'the Right Modest and orthodox matron, Mrs A Behn' Swift represents the verses as the product of youthful thoughtlessness

l 18 *are so strong* Swift thought them far from strong

l 24 *A priest* The case, quoted by Collins, is that of the Rev Mr Brown, who, when translating Father Paul's Letters, left out the words 'If the King of England (James I) were not more a doctor than a king' The words were not important, and their omission, in the circumstances, was scarcely surprising The case of 'another priest' is that of the translator of Baumgarten's *Travels*

l 30 *But, however, I love to excuse them* These words are a transcript from Collins, and Swift saw that nothing could show the animus of the writer better than to quote them as they stand

56, l 1 The imposing list is given by Collins, and Swift repeats it in ridicule of his parade of learning

l 8 *in any one thing relating to religion* interpolated by Swift

l 12 *is as well qualified for flying as for thinking* This sentence is so characteristic of Swift that it has often been quoted—and not unjustly—as his own opinion It represents Collins's phrase 'want of capacity to think freely on matters of speculation'

l 14 *which is an essential part of freethinking* Just what Swift did not think it to be Swift could not but exercise his own judgement, in spite of himself But to trouble others with speculations was what he condemned 'Want of belief is a defect,' he says in his *Thoughts on Religion*, 'which ought to be concealed when it cannot be overcome' Cf p 234, l 1

l 25 *to believe whether there is a God or not* 'About truth or falsehood in speculative matters' are Collins's words but Swift could fairly hold that he did not seriously misrepresent them

57, l 12 *those noble Turkish virtues* Collins again quotes Taylor here

l 22 *two drumes* 'Two men of great authority,' says Collins They are Bacon and Dr Hickee, the opponent of Tillotson

58, l 2 *wherever there is no lawyer, &c* This is given by Collins in the shape of an anecdote from Locke's friend, Le Clerc

l 7 *by priests, no doubt, but I have forgotten their names* This effective interpolation is Swift's. So also is the parenthesis beginning in l 12

l 17 *ten thousand priests* The number of the clergy as uniformly given by Swift. Cf p 30, l 34. It probably suggested the hypothetical number of Freethinkers on p 53, l 34. Instead of the English clergy, Collins names (no doubt with an implied reference to them) the case of the monks and friars of the Roman Catholic Church.

l 26 *will take just so much off from their morality* The sentence puts, in homely form, an absurd argument adduced by Collins, 'Extending of zeal to other objects besides morality must take off a portion of our zeal for the practice of morality'. The rest of the paragraph does little more than set out Collins's argument, in all its folly.

59, l 12 *they seduced Constantine, &c* Collins quotes Zosimus for this.

l 28 *but those who have religion do not* Swift's interpolation.

l 30 For *Toland, Tindal, and Coward*, see note on p 30, l 21. For *Gildon*, see note on p 54, l 26. *John Clendon* wrote, in 1710, 'A Treatise of the word Person, with regard to the Trinity'.

l 32 *Freethinkers are the most virtuous persons in the world* Swift scarcely caricatures Collins's argument, though he turns it round. Because they are in a proportion of one to nine hundred and ninety-nine of their enemies, says Collins, they must be virtuous, as virtue is the only defence against the calumnies of the greater number.

60, l 22 *and I hope you do not think Socrates lived before reason* 'And whoever live by reason, though they are esteemed Atheists, are Christian, and such are Socrates and the like' Collins.

l 34 *a heathen* Celsus.

61, l 1 *But Origen defends Christ very well* Swift repeats the defence because its irreverence adds to Collins's offensiveness.

l 6 *one of their zealous priests* Collins quotes this from Cudworth.

l 10 Before Epicurus, Collins cites the example of Aristotle.

l 16 *is not so much as named in the New Testament* 'Our holy religion itself does not anywhere particularly require of us this virtue,' says Collins, and he again quotes Taylor in his support.

62, l 2 *These two words . . . of the Trinity* This sentence is interpolated by Swift, to mark the gratuitous offensiveness of Collins's introducing, into the Creed, the words *begotten and proceeding*.

l 8 *he discovers the whole secret of a statesman.* Quoted by Collins from St. Augustine, in reference to Varro.

1 16 *For contempt of priests, &c* All the rest of the paragraph is Swift's

1 33 *for why should not theirs be a revealed religion as well as that of Christ* Swift's interpolation

63, 1 21 Before Seneca, Collins cites Cato of Utica, and quotes a long translation of a passage in Lucan, against superstition

64, 1 3 *which opinion* *New Testament* Swift's interpolation

1 32 *whom God (if we may believe the priests) thought fit to choose for his own people* These words, again, are introduced by Swift
Cf p 47, 1 10

65, 1 8 *may believe it* 'May take this' are Collins's words

1 16. *leaving* Collins says 'general literature'

66, 1 23 *the two sacraments of Christ* This sentence stands for Collins's 'any positive precept of revealed religion' Swift implies, and justly so, that if Collins's argument were to stand, he must be prepared to state it as Swift does

1 29 *one-and twenty more great men* Exactly the number of the list of those whom Collins here names as freethinkers, extending from Erasmus to Locke

1 32 *and are consequently more or less opinions commonly received* Swift adds this perfectly fair corollary, to expose the absurdity of Collins's argument

67, 1 7 *my name* 'Your name,' says Collins, to the gentleman whom he addresses, to whom he transfers the benefit of concealment. The next sentence is a travesty of that with which Collins concludes, 'For I think it virtue enough to endeavour to do good, only within the bounds of doing yourself no harm'

68, 1 15 *sacrificing truth*, i.e. by admitting such a superstition as the belief in a God

A LETTER TO A YOUNG CLERGYMAN.

Page 70, 1 5. *and are consequently grown a burden to their friends.* Who naturally think that their own duty is performed, and that further expense will be an undue burden. We need not suppose that Swift meant that a degree incapacitated a man from earning a livelihood.

1 8 *a readership.* Many of the Irish incumbents were 'Readers' only, and made no pretence to the higher office of the 'Preacher'

1 10 *assistants in the country* The 'assistants' were persons appointed, often with extremely little attention to the canon law, to be helpers, or substitutes for the regular incumbents

1 15 *without colonies from England* Without bringing over Englishmen to settle as colonists amongst the savages of Ireland Swift viewed with indignation the habit which made Ireland a receptacle for all that was most incapable in England. He speaks of the habit of the prelates, drawn from England, 'to draw after them colonies of sons, nephews, cousins, or old college companions Letter to Lord Carteret, July 3, 1725

1 27 *pittance*, i e of learning

71, 1 16 *this kingdom* = Ireland 'The nation' on 1 19 has the same reference

1 32 *of all distinctions*, i e of all grades

72, 1 9 *the famous Lord Falkland* Lucius, and Viscount Falkland (1610-1643), the friend of all that was most distinguished amongst the literary men of his day, whose house at Burford in Oxfordshire became a favourite rendezvous for them

73, 1 9 *particularly by St Paul* 'I have often been offended,' says Swift in his *Thoughts on Religion*, 'to find St Paul's allegories, and other figures of Grecian eloquence, converted by Divines into articles of faith'

74, 1 7 *Dr Tillotson*, for whom Swift had no admiration, and of whom he does not usually speak in terms of so much respect as here. But his present words at least prove that Swift had no sympathy with the most bitter assailants of the Archbishop. Tillotson had now been dead for twenty-five years, as he survived only by three years his nomination by William III to the See of Canterbury

1 21 *The fear of being thought pedants* This fear was a besetting error of the time. Cf Addison's denunciation of it in the *Spectator* (No 105) where he shows how easily the real vice of pedantry may take other forms than that of undue addiction to book-learning

75, 1 2 *Whitefrars* The Alsatia, where the Bohemians of the town were wont to gather

1 3 *Palmng, shuffling, biting, bamboozling* Words which Swift specially disliked. See his paper in the *Tatler* (No 230) 'The Biter,' says Steele in another *Tatler*, 'is a dull fellow that tells you a lie with a grave face, and laughs at you for knowing him no better than to believe him'

1 12 *fustian* In the sense of meaningless bombast. It is so used by Milton, Butler, and Dryden

1 20 *Our English tongue is too little cultivated in this kingdom*, i e in Ireland. In the *Tatler* (No 234) the same neglect is attributed to England

1 28 *that simplicity, without which no human performance can arrive to any great perfection*. Cf Swift's words in the *Tatler* (No 230),

'that simplicity which is the best and truest ornament of most things in life' In that paper Swift names Parsons and Hooker as conspicuous examples of the simple in style

76, l 13 *mercurial* Swift uses the word in the sense of *keen-witted*, deriving the epithet from Mercury, as the god of shrewdness In modern usage it has come to mean *easily swayed by the emotions*, taking its meaning from the rise and fall of the mercury in the thermometer Cf p 239, l 19

l 13 *pathetic* = that which appeals to the passions Modern usage has changed the meaning of this word also, restricting it to that which moves our pity

l 16 *drive some one particular point* We speak of 'driving home an argument' by a metaphor from the thrust of a spear Swift's use of it represents an older form that involved no such metaphor Thus Holinshed speaks of 'driving upon the like argument'

l 22 *and with whose writings* The conjunction before the relative approaches very nearly to a modern solecism Swift seems to join *where* and *whose*, as relative words which might be coupled by the conjunction

77, l 4 *Epiphonemas* Exclamatory sentences

will find, much sooner than learn, by consulting Cicero himself = will sooner find by consulting Cicero, than learn by his own experience

78, l 1 *reason and good advice will be your safest guides* Exactly the 'liber amicis, consilium proprium' of Horace (Satires i 4 132)

l 4 *that passion should never prevail over reason* Cf *Tale of a Tub* (Vol I pp 168 and 174), where it is the fancy or imagination that is supposed to get the upper hand over reason

l 34 *perhaps my frequent hearing of foreigners* This must have been at one of the French churches, of which there were then more than a score in London

79, l 23 *the vogue of the parish* Vogue is one of the many words which Swift took directly from the French

l 27 *they write in so diminutive a manner, with such frequent blots and interlineations* Swift's own hand-writing is often small and cramped, but always admirably regular and legible

81, l 12 *further than that they were ignorant of certain facts which happened long after their death* Much the same defect which is urged against Homer in the *Tale of a Tub* (Vol I p 142) Cf also p 60, l 18 of this vol

l 17 *is at large insisted on by Plato* In the *Crito* Plato makes Socrates inculcate the doctrine that it is wrong to injure our enemies.

l 24 *worship any more than one almighty power* In no passage does Swift show so much tolerance for a natural or rational

scheme of religion as he does here. In most cases he attacked it as one of the weapons of the latitudinarian or Deist School.

82, l 28 *at a time when I had more leisure* Most of Swift's reading was done during his residence in Sir William Temple's house, and it is clear from the *Tale of a Tub* that he had read patristic literature to a considerable amount.

83, l 4 *your admiration lessened* The *nil admirari* precept which Swift borrowed from Horace.

84, l 30 *intellectuals* Cf Vol I p 161, l 28 (note).

85, l 24 *equally understood*, i.e. not understood at all.

l 28 *simple or complex ideas* Terms borrowed from Locke's system of philosophy. The injunction against commonplace books may also have reference to Locke.

87, l 17 *against university education* Swift refers to this fashion in his *Essay on Modern Conversation*, and he has more forcibly expressed his contempt for it in the speech of the Captain of Dragoons, in the poem of *The Grand Question Debated*.

'A Scholard when just from his college broke loose,
Can hardly tell how to cry bo to a goose
Your Novels, and Blurturks, and Omurs and stuff
By G—, they don't signify this pinch of snuff'

l 31 *old fundamental custom of annual parliaments* 'As to parliaments, I adored the wisdom of that Gothic institution which made them annual, and I was confident our liberty could never be placed upon a firm foundation, until that ancient law were restored among us.' So Swift wrote in the letter to Pope (January 10, 1722), which forms a sort of *Apologia pro vita sua*.

89, l 1 *seduced into bribery, perjury, &c* This is, of course, a stroke especially aimed at Walpole.

l 18 *Mr Hobbes's saying upon reason* The passage referred to occurs in the Dedication to the Earl of Newcastle of the Treatise on Human Nature. Comparing mathematical and dogmatical learning, Hobbes says the first is free from controversy because in it 'truth and the interest of men oppose not each other' while in the other 'nothing is undisputable because it compareth men, and meddleth with their right and profit, in which as oft as reason is against a man, so oft will a man be against reason'.

90, l 1 *will find the little learning then stirring* The views which Swift advances seem at first sight paradoxical but we must observe that he makes two statements, which are perfectly distinct from one another. The first relates solely to the extent to which some tincture of letters was diffused amongst the clergy and the laity in the period before the Reformation and in his own day. Swift holds that

in the earlier period learning was not so much monopolized by the clergy as in his own day. In the later sentence (l 10) Swift seems to enlarge one side of the balance by adding law and medicine to the Church and so modified his view is quite capable of defence. From the days of Caxton to the Wars of the Roses, a great proportion of those who interested themselves in learning, formed libraries, and patronized men of letters, were laymen and men of the type of Lord Berners were to be found not infrequently amongst those who played an important part in active life. When Swift wrote, the landed aristocracy were singularly dead to literary interest their patronage was frequently indiscriminating, and their attitude towards the learned professions was unsympathetic. This was not less true of those who played a large part at the Court of George I. Swift's second, and quite distinct statement, relates solely to the clergy and laity who actually produced important works. Here he institutes no comparison, but only states that many laymen, in the earlier period, were themselves writers of high repute. The examples of Fabyan and Hall, Fortescue and More, Chaucer, Gower, and Lydgate, are sufficient to support his view.

IRISH TRACTS

PROPOSAL FOR THE UNIVERSAL USE OF IRISH MANUFACTURE

Page 92, l 9 *absolutely prohibiting their tenants from ploughing*. The thriftlessness of the Irish tenants, who, pressed by rack-renting, would not allow their ground to lie fallow, and put little manure on it, was the cause of this restriction by the landlords, who desired to substitute pasture for arable land. In another Tract, called *An Answer to a Memorial*, Swift denounces 'the shameful practice of too many Irish farmers to wear out their land with ploughing, while, either through poverty, laziness, or ignorance, they neither took care to manure it as they ought, nor gave time to any part of the land to recover itself'. But although he blames the tenants, his severest condemnation is reserved for the landlords.

l 12 *the importation of it from London, as the cheaper market*. Lord Molesworth, in his *Considerations for promoting the Agriculture of Ireland*, confirms the fact that English corn, even with the cost of freight, was sold in Ireland more cheaply than the Irish.

93, l 6 *for the feeding of sheep*. 'Ajax was mad,' says Swift in the *Answer to a Memorial*, quoted above, 'when he mistook a flock of

sheep for his enemies, but we shall never be sober, until we have the same way of thinking'

l 7 *the history of the Wise Men of Gotham* See Vol I p 106, l 10 (note)

l 10 *our beneficial traffic of wool with France* Which was forbidden See p 96, l 22

l 20 *Barnstaple*, then the chiefemporium, in England, of Irish wool

l 23 *their regulation of Church matters* The movements towards the repeal of the Test, generally known as 'efforts for the encouragement of Protestants (= Presbyterians) in Ireland' To all such proposals Swift offered a bitter opposition

Enlargements of the prerogative The 'modern term of art,' that Ireland was 'a depending kingdom' and that her Parliament was under the control of the Crown and the Privy Council, is more severely dealt with in the *Drapier's Letters* Cf p 98, l 29

94, l 23 *the late Archbishop of Tuam* Dr Vesey, who had died in 1716 He was an intimate friend of Dr King, the Archbishop of Dublin, with whom Swift had life long relations

l 26 *then coals* One of the projects much urged by those who wished to improve the trade of Ireland, was the use of Kilkenny coal, in preference to that which came from Whitehaven

l 29 *non tanti mitra est, non tanti judicis ostrum* I have failed to trace this quotation The meaning is clear enough 'The mitre, and the purple of the judge, are of no such importance'—or, in other words, 'Head gear and stuffs are matter of no such moment' But it is curious that Swift should drag in a quotation to minimize the force of a point in his own argument The quotation is certainly from no classical source.

95, l. 27 *his grace deserves as good a gown* In earlier years Dr King and Swift had not always agreed, but a common hatred of English domination under Walpole had brought them into much closer sympathy

l 33 *The fable in Ovid of Arachne and Pallas* In *Metamorph* Bk vi

96, l 14 *Oppression makes a wise man mad* Eccles vii 7.

l 24 *to sell us their bark for tanning our own hides into leather* The lack of timber in Ireland was rendering the work of the tanners impossible, and one of the schemes for being independent of English help, was that of using tormentil instead of bark for tanning A pamphlet published in Dublin in 1729 treats of *The Method of Tanning without bark*

97, l 3. *Mostyn* The market of Welsh coal, as Whitehaven was that of the north.

l 15 *the ballad upon Cotter* A note in the Dublin edition tells us that Cotter was a gentleman of Cork, executed for rape

l 29 *Scripture, Sanderson, and Suarez* Dr Robert Sanderson (1587-1662) was a divine of strongly Royalist opinions, whose biography was written by Walton He was a distinguished casuist, and published the lectures which, as Professor of Divinity, he had delivered at Oxford, *De Conscientia* On the Restoration he was created Bishop of Lincoln Suarez (1548-1617) was a noted Jesuit, who also wrote on questions of Casuistry

98, l 11 *Little Britain* A street chiefly occupied by booksellers' shops, which ran from Aldersgate to St Bartholomew's Hospital

l 12 *at least a translator of a lower rate* The reference here is said to be to Colonel Bladen (1680-1746), who was a dependant of Marlborough, and reached some rank in the army, and subsequently some position as a politician At this time he was a Commissioner of Trade, and a faithful adherent of Walpole His literary attempts were two plays and the translation of Caesar's Commentaries (1712), dedicated to Marlborough There is a story of his having been Secretary of State in Ireland, but Nichols (Lit Anecdotes) doubts whether this is established If he ever was in Ireland it must have been in Queen Anne's reign, as he was afterwards member of the English Parliament It would thus be before his translation, and would not answer to Swift's words,

l 17 *the author of a play called 'Love in a Hollow Tree'* This was the first Lord Grimston (1683-1756) At the age of twenty-two he produced a drama under this title, of which he was afterwards so much ashamed that he endeavoured to buy in the edition Swift mentions him again in the *Rhapsody on Poetry*,—

'The leaden crown devolved to thee,

Great poet of the hollow tree'

Pope also refers to him in his 2nd Satire, l 176,—

'Shades that to Bacon could retreat afford,

Become the portion of a booby lord'

He had inherited Gorhambury, formerly the property of Bacon, whose title of Lord Verulam was subsequently conferred on Grimston's descendant He was himself created an Irish Peer in 1719 Johnson tells a story of the Duchess of Marlborough having spitefully reprinted the suppressed play, with a frontispiece representing an elephant dancing on a tight rope

99, l 5 *Lord Wharton* was Lord Lieutenant under the Ministry of Lord Godolphin, just before the overturn of that Ministry by Harley

l 30 *for preventing the bishops from letting their revenues at a moderate half-value* Swift speaks with detestation of the landlords

and their selfish action in Parliament, but with no love for the bishops. The expression '*labouring for preventing the bishops*' is misleading, unless we keep in mind very carefully the circumstances. As the law stood, the bishops were prevented from letting their lands at less than 'a moderate half-value,' which was a well understood amount, estimated by Swift elsewhere as about 40 per cent of the value. The object of this law was to prevent a greedy incumbent from impoverishing the revenues of the see by taking a heavy fine on the renewal of a lease, and granting the lease on a nominal rent. Such a lease was void, and it was owing only to this limitation on the power of the bishops that the revenues of the Church were preserved intact when in the hands of the English nominees whose sole interest in Ireland was too often the plunder they could draw from her. But such illegal leases had frequently been granted to middlemen, who, having satisfied, by a fine, the greed of the original incumbent, continued to pay little more than a nominal rent to his successors, while they sublet the lands at a rack-rent. There was at this time a proposal before Parliament for the repeal of the limiting statute, and the proposal, regarded with favour by such of the bishops as wished to enrich themselves at the expense of their successors, was pressed forward by the landlord class, from whom the middlemen were usually drawn. The words 'preventing the bishops from letting their revenues at a moderate half-value,' seem thus to mean 'preventing *existing* bishops from setting aside illegal leases which had been granted by former incumbents at less than a moderate half-value.' Swift was a vigorous opponent of the proposed change in the law.

l 33. *Caning their own land upon short leases* *Caning* is here used in the sense of putting up to auction (from the French *quant*, representing the Latin *quantum*). For the other meaning of the word, see note to p 168, l 10 of Vol I.

100, l 15 *a thing they call a bank* The Bank of England had been incorporated in 1694, and there was now a proposal, which was rejected by Parliament, to establish a Bank of Ireland on the same model. Swift strongly opposed the scheme, which he considered to be on a level with such 'bubbles' as the South Sea Scheme. He had no trust in the paper currency, which it was proposed to issue. The Bank of Ireland was not actually founded until sixty years later.

l 9 *provision of hemp and cap and bells* The 'some persons' are the promoters of the Bank, whose 'degree of honesty' was such as deserved a hempen rope, while their 'degree of prudence' was best typified by the fool's cap and bells. For the same use of hemp, see Vol I p 126, l 23 (note).

l 27 *altogether imaginary*, i.e. in paper.

THE DRAPIER'S LETTERS

Page 102, l 10 *at the lowest rate* It was sold for twopence

108, l 6 *a little book* Which precedes this in the present selection

l 26 *they have been for some years very scarce* Prior, in his *Observations on coin in general, with some proposals for regulating the value of coin in Ireland* (1729), says that this state of things had arisen within the last twenty years. The copper coinage had before been undervalued, and consequently had left the country

l 32 *to coin £108,000 in copper* The first edition states it as 'fourscore and ten thousand'. Either sum was clearly in excess of the requirements. According to a high estimate (amongst many contemporary estimates which vary widely) the total currency of Ireland, apart from paper, was between £500,000 and £600,000. See p 107, l 29. The proposed quantity of copper was altogether out of proportion to this.

104, l 7 *a penny of good money for a shilling of his* This was doubtless an exaggeration. But it is admitted that Wood was permitted to coin thirty pence out of a pound of copper, which was intrinsically worth 12d.

105, l 8 *our honourable House of Commons* The patent passed on July 12, 1722, and the address of Parliament against it was not presented until more than a year later.

l 12 *to answer likewise in print* Wood's reply was published in the *Flying Post* of Oct 8, 1723. He took his stand upon the unlimited prerogative of the Crown.

l 19 *the collectors of the King's customs very honestly refused to take them* The committee appointed to inquire does not deny this, but says that steps should be taken to correct it, if true. It indicates a curious want of concert between the English and Irish governments.

106, l 11 *here, a sort of coarse barley, used for brewing*

l 18 *The common weight of these halfpence, &c* This paragraph and that which follows are, of course, without foundation. Wood's coinage did not make copper a legal tender for any sum higher than that previously permissible by law.

107, l 1 *'Squire Conolly* Swift purposely instances the inconvenience that would be caused to Conolly. He was Speaker of the House of Commons, and, as a strong supporter of Walpole, had defended the coinage against the Chancellor, Lord Middleton, who condemned it.

1 8 *would require twelve hundred horses to carry it* Swift keeps carefully to the calculation of twopence-halfpenny to the ounce, requiring three horses for every £100

1 12 *I intend to truck* To *truck* is to barter goods for goods, without a medium of exchange The word remains in the phrase of the *Truck system*, which means the part payment of wages in food, &c, instead of money

1 17 *the brass money in King James's time* The nominal rate of James's copper coinage was 32*d* to the pound of copper, then valued intrinsically at 18*d* But the real value of the coinage was probably much less

1 19 *for a pistole* A good deal of Spanish gold came into Ireland, owing to the scarcity of the gold coinage The pistole was about four-fifths of a guinea

108, 1 4 *run all into sheep* See p 93, 1 6 (note)

1 24 *above a million of good money every year* A very moderate computation was that out of a total rental of £1,800,000 a year, at least £600,000 was spent in England by absentee landlords If we add to this the abundant salaries paid to English holders of sinecures in Ireland, it must appear that Swift uses little, if any, rhetorical exaggeration here See p 189, 1 24 (note)

109, 1 19 *The Mirror of Justice* This is one of the most important authorities on early English law It is constantly referred to, with great respect, by Coke, and although not drawn up in its present form until the reign of Edward I, it incorporates an earlier record, dating from the time of Alfred

1 21 *It was ordained, &c* Coke (in 2 Inst 576) quotes the original French from the *Mirror* 'Ordein fuit que nul roy de cest realme ne poet changer sa money, ne imparer, ne amender, ne auter money faire, que de ore ou dargent sans lassent de tous ses countees' (that is, adds Coke, without assent of Parliament)

1 28 *that great lawyer my Lord Coke* Although Swift disliked the leaders of the Rebellion, he was no friend to an overstrained prerogative, and he is perfectly consistent in his admiration for the attitude assumed by Coke in the generation which preceded the outbreak

1 29 *the several metals are divided into lawful or true metal, and unlawful or false metal* Coke quotes the Latin enumeration of seven metals *aurum et argentum* (lawful and true) *aes sive cuprum* (copper), *stannum* (tin), *ferrum*, *plumbum*, *aurichalcum* (brass) the last five being unlawful and false

1 33 *an act of Parliament made the twentieth year of Edward the First* Swift translates the Latin as quoted by Coke 'Quicumque in emptioibus et venditionibus obulum seu quadrantem legalis metalli,

et debitam habentem formam recusare praesumpserit, tanquam regiae majestatis contemptor capiatur, et in carcerem detrudatur'

110, l 14 *Lord Coke's observation upon it* The sentence is quoted *verbatim* from Coke, whose argument Swift follows closely throughout Coke adds to the sentence quoted, 'as the *Mirror* hath told you'

l 24 *the Act of Parliament of Henry the Fourth, chap 4* Swift here makes a slip, not unnatural to a layman citing a statute The act is really 4 Henry IV, chap 10

l 27 *of halfpence and farthings of silver Des mayles et ferlynges dargent* are the words of the statute

111, l 6 *By another act in this king's reign* Swift here makes a rather more serious slip The act against black money (noir monoir) was not one of Edward III, but 11 Henry IV, chap 5 The act against *Galley halfpence* (galyhalpenys) which Swift has so cited, was really 9 Henry IV, chap 4

113, l 9 *the accursed thing* See *Joshua vii.*

l 12 *I have heard scholars talk of a man who told the king* It is curious to find Swift so referring to Phalaris, of whom he had heard so much in the days of the *Battle of the Books*

l 24 *a quart of twopenny ale for thirty-six of them, 1 e 18d* instead of 20d, as Swift suggests on p 106, l 4 The assumption of scrupulous accuracy in making this very trifling correction is characteristic of Swift

LETTER IV.

Page 114, l 8 *in the words of the Report* This was the Report of the Committee of Privy Council, dated July 24, 1724 The words referred to are, 'It must be admitted, that Letters Patent under the Great Seal of Great Britain, for coining copper money for Ireland, are legal and obligatory, a just and reasonable exercise of your Majesty's Royal Prerogative.'

115, l 15 *the Lord-heutenant, 1 e Lord Carteret*, now appointed to succeed the Duke of Grafton

116, l 14 *In her reign* See p 111, l 15

l 23 *the great Lord Bacon* The words in inverted commas appear to be a reminiscence rather than a quotation I have not traced the sentence, as it stands, in Bacon but the regular government of the world by the laws of nature, as contrasted with the exceptional disturbance, of these laws, is enunciated in Bacon's *Confession of Faith*, while the dangers of a strained prerogative are urged in the *Essay on Empire* Bacon certainly gives no support to Swift's limits of the prerogative as regards coinage

1 32 *any coin which is not sterling* See pages 109 and 110
 117, 1 8 *our ancestors* Swift speaks here, as always, chiefly on behalf of the English settlers in Ireland

1 26 *in a former letter* Letter III, 'To the nobility and gentry of Ireland,' which dealt with the Report in detail

1 34 *King Charles II and King James II* The patents were granted to Lord Dartmouth and to a certain John Knox

119, 1 32 *Those methods*, i.e. the methods of bribery

120, 1 10 *Lord Berkeley of Stratton* One of the Tory Junta in Oxford's ministry, 1710-1714. The fact that he had married the daughter of Sir John Temple (whom Swift hated) perhaps explains Swift's mention of him in this unpleasant connexion. He died in 1740

1 12 *Lord Palmerstown* The head of the family to which Sir W Temple belonged. In 1726, Swift and he were involved in an angry correspondence, in the course of which Swift repudiated the idea that he was under any obligation to the Temple family

1 13 *Dodington* George Bubb (1691-1762) took the additional name of Dodington on the death of his uncle in 1720. He was M.P. for many years, and held several other offices as well as the clerkship of the pells. With some wit, and the reputation of a literary patron, he was noted for the profligacy of his life, and his degraded views of political allegiance. He was at length created Lord Melcombe as the ally of Lord Bute

1 16 *Mr Southwell* had been secretary to the Duke of Ormond, and had, apparently, been able to maintain his place under a changed administration. He was one of those who signed a report in favour of Wood's coinage, hence Swift's gibbeting of him here

1 17 *Earl of Burlington* Boyle, E. of Burlington, born in 1695, succeeded 1704. In addition to the lord high treasurership, he held several other sinecures

1 24 *Mr Addison was forced to purchase an old obscure place, called keeper of the records in Bermingham's Tower* Bermingham's Tower was an apartment in Dublin Castle where the records were preserved. Addison was appointed keeper when holding the post of secretary to Lord Wharton, and the increase of the salary is mentioned by Tickell as a special mark of the Queen's favour

1 29 *a favourite secretary* Mr. Hopkins, secretary to the Duke of Grafton, of whom Swift complains in a letter to the Duke

122, 1 5 *Lord Carteret* was Lord Lieutenant from 1724 to 1730. The most versatile statesman of the time, he was nominally the colleague of Walpole, but in truth there was neither confidence nor sympathy between them. The period of his vice-royalty brought him into close

relations with Swift, Sheridan, and their circle, with the result of arousing the suspicions of the orthodox Whigs

123, l 2 *acts against Popery* With the barbarity of these acts, so vigorously pressed by the Whigs in their anti-Jacobite zeal, Swift had no sympathy

l 3 *for uniting Protestants*, i e by abolishing the test, and so conciliating the Presbyterians See p 93, l 23 (note)

l 8 *some invasion* By France in the interests of the Pretender Such reports were always available, in order to arouse the flagging zeal of the Whig adherents

l 34 *the gentleman they have lately made primate* This was Dr Hugh Boulter, formerly Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, and Bishop of Bristol, who had lately succeeded Dr Lindsay as Archbishop of Armagh and Primate He was the emissary of Walpole and while Carteret nominally ruled, the real power was in the hands of Boulter, whose whole energies were devoted to subordinating the government of Ireland to the interests of the Whig party He did not answer to Swift's expectation, but was a vigorous supporter of the halfpence

125, l 5 *a statute made here in the thirty-third year of Henry VIII* The statute was 35 Henry VIII, chap 3 In it 'the style' of the king, as king of Ireland, is said to be 'united and annexed for ever to the Imperial crown of his Highness' realm of England.'

l 19 This paragraph was made the object of special attack, which Swift answers in his 5th letter (addressed to Lord Molesworth) If he is wrong, he says, in refusing to accept a Jacobite successor, he will submit but he fears that if he were to offer never to offend so again, this would only be 'wrested to an ill meaning by some spiteful interpretation' He means, of course, that it would be made the ground of a charge of Jacobite leaning It was in connexion with this that the phrase was used that 'he went too far,' which seems specially to have enraged Swift In his own lines, he advises the people not to be misled by it —

'The stupid cant, HE WENT TOO FAR, despise,

And know that to be brave is to be wise'

126, l 2 *Mr Molneux* Molneux, or Molyneux, the friend of Locke, had published in 1698 'The case of Ireland's being bound by Acts of Parliament in England, stated'

127, l 31 *a sort of savage Irish* In a subsequent letter, addressed to Lord Middleton, Swift insists more fully and forcibly on this culpable ignorance 'As to Ireland, they (the English) know little more of it than they do of Mexico farther than that it is a country subject to the king of England, full of bogs, inhabited by wild Irish papists, who are kept in awe by mercenary troops sent from thence and their

general opinion is, that it were better for England if this whole island were sunk into the sea for they have a tradition, that every forty years there must be a rebellion in Ireland I have seen the grossest suppositions passed upon them "that the wild Irish were taken in toils but that in some time they would grow so tame as to eat out of your hands" Burdy, in his *Life of Skelton*, tells a story of a Derriaghy man who gained a livelihood in London by exhibiting himself as a wild Irishman, 'with a false beard, artificial wings, and the like,' dancing with a chain about him

180, l 2 *Coleby* was one of the witnesses examined before the Committee which reported on the coin Swift deals with these witnesses more fully in his third letter and makes the remark, which in modern days would certainly have brought him within the law of libel, that 'although *Coleby* was acquitted (of robbing the Treasury) for want of legal proof, yet every person in the court believed him to be guilty' Another of the witnesses, he declares, was tried for rape

181, l 5 *so honourable a name as that of Mr Walpole* These words are doubtless partly used sarcastically but it must be remembered that Swift had not yet altogether broken with Walpole, and that in 1727, when in England, he met Walpole, when it seemed possible that their differences might be overcome In the concluding words of the letter the sarcasm becomes more unmistakeable

A SHORT VIEW OF THE STATE OF IRELAND

Page 186, l 10 *The fifth is, &c* This paragraph, ostensibly as general in application as the others, is of course written specially with a view to Ireland, as a separate kingdom, attached to the English crown To say that a country is not to have free trading privileges in another country with which it is at war, is unnecessary but Swift clearly contemplates that Ireland should make her own conditions as to trading with other countries, with the sole restriction that she should not have free trading arrangements with a country at war with her king in his other capacity as king of Great Britain

l 15 *all appeals for justice* Referring to the appellate jurisdiction of the English House of Lords, which was strongly resented in Ireland The appellate jurisdiction of the Irish House of Lords had been taken away by an Act of 1720 See p. 229, l 31 (note)

137, l 14 *at least some of these*, i e of those causes which he has just enumerated

138, l 1 *The native productions* But so poor was Irish tillage that it was cheaper to import English corn, than to use Irish

l 4 *mines and minerals* There were many projects for substituting the use of Kilkenny coal for that imported from Whitehaven But none of them was attended by success

l 20 *the liberty of exporting their native commodities and manufactures* By an Act of Charles II, the Irish were prevented from exporting cattle to England By one of William III, the Irish woollen manufacture had been destroyed by refusing it the right of exportation*

l 25 *an act of navigation* Of a series of Navigation Acts, from Charles II downwards, the most stringent against Ireland was that of 1696, by which she was shut out from all colonial trade

l 32 *Lord Chief Justice Whitheshead* Who bullied the Grand Jury into a verdict against Waters, the printer of Swift's *Proposal for the universal use of Irish Manufacture* (1720)

139, l 2 *to decide our properties*, i e by the decision of the English House of Lords

l 11 *the fancy of grazing* Which employed few labourers, and which Swift instructed the Irish to consider as their greatest curse

l 24 *One third part of the rents of Ireland is spent in England* Swift estimated the total rents of Ireland (see his letter to Peterborough, intended for Walpole's reading, April 28, 1726) to be £1,500,000, of which £500,000 was spent in England Others computed them at £1,800,000 but also reckoned the amount spent in England to be one third See p 108, l 24 (note)

l 25 *the profits of employments, &c* This Swift reckoned to be at least £300,000

140, l 22 *except the linen of the north* It is curious that Swift draws no distinction here between the north and the south of Ireland, nor foresees the wealth which the north was to gain from this manufacture

141, l 31 *in all other countries a sign of wealth* Swift here spoke according to the mistaken belief of his day. A modern political economist would refuse to lay down any general rule, but would seek the determining causes of low interest before pronouncing whether it indicates prosperity or the reverse But it is odd to find Swift speaking of the rate as low in Ireland, since he advised Stella to invest her money in Ireland as the rate was high

l 34 *hence alone comes the dearness of land* Swift did not perceive that the real cause was the liberty of rack renting, and the down-

trodden position of the tenants, which enabled even thriftless landlords to extort large revenues from their land

142, l 9 *Hence the daily increase of bankers* Swift wrote violently against the project of an Irish National Bank. He disliked the growth of the money-interest at the expense of the land, of which he thought this to be a symptom, and failed to observe that the growth of banks really denoted an increase of wealth, however ill-distributed that wealth might be. See p 100, l 15 (note)

l 13 *the running cash of the nation, which was about five hundred thousand pounds, is now less than two* Swift is probably speaking here without sufficient grounds. No doubt the growth of a paper currency diminished the coin, and Swift refused to consider a paper currency as anything but an unsound system. But only the year before he reckons the coin of Ireland as £500,000 (letter to Peterborough, April 28, 1726). It is strange that he did not perceive that such a fluctuation greatly militated against his own confident conclusions as to the copper currency.

l 32 *a good million* Elsewhere Swift reckons the sum going to England as £500,000 in rents spent in England, £300,000, as the profits of employments in Ireland held by Englishmen in Ireland, and £400,000 paid in taxes or £1,200,000 in all.

A MODEST PROPOSAL

Page 145, l 10 *to fight for the Pretender in Spain, or sell themselves to the Barbadoes* In a letter of Nov 23, 1728, Archbishop Boulter says that 4200 men, women, and children, had emigrated to the West Indies in three years. The emigration of the Irish peasantry, who enlisted in large numbers both in France and Spain, is the subject of Boulter's constant regret. '*To fight for the Pretender in Spain*' probably refers to Alberoni's abortive expedition in aid of the Jacobite cause, which had been made a few years before.

146, l 21 *one million and a half* In his *Political Arithmetic* (1699) Sir W. Petty reckons the population of Ireland at 1,200,000.

147, l 8 *a principal gentleman in the county of Cavan* It would be hopeless to guess at Swift's informant, but his friend Sheridan, who lived there, states that 'Cavan was the poorest county in Ireland'.

l 22 *a very knowing American* Swift doubtless means not to refer to any individual, but only to adduce the experience of one who knew the American colonies, and the West Indian islands, where cannibalism prevailed.

150, l 7 *Psalmazar* George Psalmazar, a native of Switzer-

land or France, attracted some notice early in the century by a successful imposture. Representing himself as a native of Formosa, he published an account of that island in Latin, in which the story referred to by Swift appears. He afterwards retracted his impostures, and lived until 1763.

151, l 11 *our most dangerous enemies* Swift speaks here in ridicule of the view which it suited the English government to take, and by means of which they justified their concessions to the Dissenters.

l 15 *pay tithes against their conscience* Swift hints that care for their pockets was the most tender part of the conscientious scruples of those who desired to abolish the sacramental test.

153, l 22 **Topinambo* The name of a part of Brazil, the inhabitants of which were proverbial for wildness. The word is used by Boileau as a synonym for barbarous stupidity.

l 25 *not to sell our country and conscience for nothing* In some lines written in a note-book when he was detained at Holyhead in Sept. 1727, Swift has the following regarding Ireland:

‘Remove me from this land of slaves,
Where all are fools, and all are knaves,
Where every fool and knave is bought,
Yet kindly sells himself for nought.’

GULLIVER'S TRAVELS

GEOGRAPHICAL NOTE

The Geography of Gulliver's Travels is a subject which does not, perhaps, seem to lend itself to very careful examination. But Swift generally had some sort of method in his inventions, and it is worth seeing what books or maps may have been before him, and with what measure of respect he treated them. This much is clear—that Swift was not content with mere unconsidered and whimsical inventions, but was at pains to give a credible locality to each scene, and to keep up a fair show of agreement with the ordinary maps.

In the catalogue of Swift's books, sold after his death, we find copies of Sir Thomas Herbert's Travels, and of those written by Bernier, the French traveller. Bernier had a taste for philosophy, and describes at length the theories current in the East, in a way which might have suggested passages in Laputa. He tells how the inhabitants of the Mogul Empire were prone to judicial astrology, like the Laputans on p. 264, l. 20. Swift no doubt knew also Dampier's Travels, which had been published in 1697, and from them he may have

taken not only the elaborate technical descriptions of navigation, in which Dampier largely indulges (see note on p 204, l 7), but also such small touches as the resort to the Bay of Campeachy to cut log-wood, which is described very fully by Dampier. But he probably took his travellers, as had been the habit of some generations, in those ponderous collections of which there was a constant succession from the days of Hakluyt and Purchas to the earlier part of the eighteenth century. In 1705 a collection of this kind was published, in two very large folios, by John Harris, F R S. and from this I am inclined to think that Swift got a good many hints. The maps for Harris's collection were made by *Herman Moll*, who also engraved the maps for a large atlas, published by Grierson, in Dublin, in 1720. This atlas was certainly in Swift's hands. It corrects the earlier maps in Harris in several points, and these corrections Swift followed in his own maps. Gulliver alludes to *Moll* as his friend, in the fourth voyage, and professes to have given him advice for the correction of his maps (an advice since corroborated by Gulliver's own experience), in regard to the precise position of New Holland (Australia). It was exactly in Swift's manner gravely to propound a new theory as to a point on which he knew that the geographers of his day were not beyond the stage of conjecture. Writing of his own voyage in 1688, Dampier says of New Holland, 'whether it is an isle or part of a continent is unknown hitherto, but this much I am sure of, that it neither joins to Asia, Africa, or America.' Swift knew that he might safely give his fancy a pretty wide range.

But he limits this range always by the determination to say nothing which shall be demonstrably absurd in regard to localities, according to the knowledge of his day. Each of the voyages has its own geographical setting, and there is some reason for his choice in each case. In the first voyage, the map shows both Lilliput and Blefuscu lying to the south-west of Sumatra, while the southern point of Van Diemen's Land (which seems to be New Zealand, rather than Tasmania) is shown to the south-east of Lilliput and Blefuscu. This would place them actually almost where the islands of Amsterdam and St Paul are situated, in the line between the Cape of Good Hope and South Australia. These two islands are marked in the maps in Harris's Collection, but though known, they were known only so far as to suggest that there might be other islands unexplored in the neighbourhood. The odd thing about the map is that it gives no sign of the west coast of New Holland (Australia) as lying between Sumatra and Van Diemen's Land. But this coast was almost unexplored. Gulliver might reasonably refuse to copy *Moll's* maps in a particular where he thought they should be corrected, and so he

preferred to omit New Holland altogether rather than place it a few degrees too far east (It is to be noticed that in the last voyage, he brings Gulliver from Houyhnhnm's Land to the *south-east*, and not the *south-west* of New Holland) The rest of Van Diemen's Land, except the southern point, is left indeterminate Dampier seems from his own account to have sailed between New Holland (Australia) and some land, either Tasmania or New Zealand but Swift made himself safe by being as indeterminate on this point as were *Moll's* maps

In the second voyage, the map shows Brobdingnag on the west coast of North America, some distance north of the 'Streights of Annian,' south of which, again, is seen the north corner of what was then considered to be the *island* of California, with New Albion at its northern extremity The map corresponds to a certain point fairly, though not exactly, with *Moll's* map in Harris But its northern part is carefully placed in a region entirely unknown, which is not even included in Harris's maps Now Dampier had argued that instead of trying the north-west Passage by Hudson's Bay, they should try it by the South Sea (the Pacific) along by California, and so 'into the Atlantic' by the north, while he thinks the north-east Passage should be tried by 'Japan, Corea, and the East of China and then along the north coast of Tartary to Archangel' These views were combated by others, who thought, like Father Lewis Hennepin the Franciscan, in Harris's book, that Japan joined America. The *first* of Dampier's theories Swift opposes He thinks that America stretches westwards across the Pacific (or, as he calls it, the Southern Sea) 'It was ever my opinion,' he says at the beginning of the 6th chap of Brobdingnag, 'that there must be a balance of earth to counterpoise the great continent of Tartary and therefore, they (the geographers of Europe) ought to correct their maps and charts, by joining this vast tract of land to the north west parts of America, wherein I shall be ready to lend them my assistance' In that 'vast tract of land' he placed the Empire of Brobdingnag, 'six thousand miles in length, and from three to five in breadth' The map, it is true, makes Brobdingnag much smaller, but in this the engravers, with whose work Swift was not altogether satisfied, were doubtless missing his design

But the *next* of Dampier's theories, viz that the north-east Passage could be found by sailing round the east coast of China, and so by the north of Tartary to Archangel, Swift fully adopts (See p 204, l 16) Could anything give a greater appearance of verisimilitude than this studied eclecticism as regards the geographical theories of his day?

In the third voyage, the map shows Laputa and its companion

islands a little to the east of Japan. The map of *Moll*, in Harris's book, shows the island of Yezzo (north of Japan), separated from the mainland by the Straits of the Vries, and only shows a portion of that island, its eastern stretch being left undefined. This is corrected in *Moll's Atlas* of 1720 and following the latter, Gulliver's map shows the island of Yezzo between the Straits of the Vries and the mainland, and on the other side of the Straits it places an undefined land called 'Company's Land'. Swift was glad to leave a nameless and undefined region in which to place Laputa. He states that there was occasional intercourse between Japan, Yezzo, and Laputa and in giving such an indication of intercourse with lands that had been visited, he took care to choose a region which was known, but only very vaguely known, to his contemporaries. In Harris's book I find one tale that may have given Swift a suggestion, not for Laputa, but for Lilliput, which he places in the Southern Seas. 'To the northward of Yezzo,' Captain John Saris, in Harris's book, tells us, there exists 'a people so extremely small that they may be called dwarfs in a strict and proper sense'.

In the fourth voyage, the Houyhnhnm's Land is shown to the south of Lewin's Land (on the south west corner of Australia). De Wit's Island (close by Tasmania) is shown to the east while the rest of Tasmania (not so called) is left indeterminate as to its joining New Holland (Australia) or not. The fact that there was a passage between is left as matter for conjecture, but it is curious that Swift brings Gulliver back to the south-east, and not the south-west of Australia. There was just enough of reality to make the evidence of Gulliver tell vaguely in favour of one theory upon what was then a moot point—the possibility of sailing round the south coast of Australia and touching on its eastern side. Swift would have enjoyed nothing more than to find himself quoted by a section of the scientific inquirers of his day in favour of their theory.

All this is of little interest otherwise than as it proves first, that Swift made himself master of the best geographical knowledge of his day, before he began to construct his fables; next, that he had a method in his fancy, and was careful to make his inventions consistent with the geographical notions current amongst his readers; and lastly, that he was audacious enough to contribute some testimony in favour of one or other theory about some of the problems then keenly debated. It was a bold bid for that credibility of which the Irish bishop unconsciously gave the best attestation, when, piquing himself on his discernment, he said, 'that he hardly believed a word' of the book.

VOYAGE TO LILLIPUT.

Page 161, l 15 *Van Diemen's Land* Several places were so called, after the Dutch explorer in the middle of the seventeenth century. Here the land indicated may be either Tasmania, or a part of New Zealand.

l 16 30 degrees, 2 minutes As a fact this would have brought Gulliver upon the mainland of Australia. But the region of Western Australia (or New Holland as it was called) was then very vaguely known.

l 19 *the 5th of November* This gives six months for the voyage — a fair, but certainly not excessive, estimate.

l 30 *flurry* A gust of wind.

162, l 4 *declivity*, not, according to modern usage, the slope itself, but the degree of slope in the shore.

k 12 *which was very short and soft* Contrast this with the description of Brobdingnag (p 205) 'the length of the grass . . . was above twenty foot high'.

l 15 *above nine hours* So in the earliest editions Scott prints 'about' but unless Swift calculated for the difference of season in the Antipodes, he would scarcely make the daylight begin on the 6th of November at five in the morning. And nine hours was none too long for the operations of the Lilliputians in tying Gulliver.

166, l 20 *determinate* So in the original edition Scott prints 'determined'.

167, l 27 *the greatest engine they had* It is difficult to conceive why the Lilliputians should have had a machine so huge. But Swift was obliged to invent an expedient for moving Gulliver.

169, l 11 *fourscore and eleven chains* See note on p 106, l 34 of Vol I.

170, l 22 *I took those vehicles, &c* This is like the description of bringing victuals to strangers in *Gerania* (see introductory note, p 158).

172, l 4 *Lingua Franca* The mixed or mongrel language used, chiefly about the Mediterranean, as a means of communication between Western travellers and the Greeks and Levantines.

l 25 *obliged* Scott prints 'delighted' but the word is not so characteristic, and I can find it in no early edition.

178, l 1 *four double* The phrase is expressive enough, but characteristic of Swift in its almost Hibernian irregularity.

l 27 *and probably spread through the whole kingdom* This is another expression characteristic of Swift, perfectly clear in intention,

although grammatically incorrect It is, of course, the *plague*, and not the *stench* that is to spread through the whole kingdom

174, l 6 *seldom, except upon great occasions, raising any subsidus upon his subjects, &c* It is not without intention that Swift mentions, with evident approval, a state of things resembling the feudal system from which he thought England had degenerated, and the unfitness of which for modern requirements he never admitted

175, l 28 *foot-cloth*, generally used for a horse's trappings, but here for a carpet

176, l 28 *a round white substance* Apparently the socket into which the point of the clasp-knife fitted

177, l 17 *his oracle* This may mean simply that Gulliver's description of the use of his watch showed that it served him as an oracle or it may have some reference to the old world *horary*, or the French *horloge*

179, l 3 *in some time* Scott prints 'for some time,' again departing from the older editions

l 16 *remote* = *recondite*

l 27 *mine eyes* In the earliest editions, the possessive is generally so spelt before a vowel but it is worth noting that Swift, in his MS corrections on the large-paper copy in the Forster Library at South Kensington, has altered it throughout to 'my' The older usage was just then giving way

180, l 19 *This diversion, &c* This is a general satire upon devices for rising at Court, with special reference to the government of Walpole, who is represented under the name of Flimnap

181, l 7 *principal secretary for private affairs*. The reference does not seem to be to any particular office, but indicates the force of backstairs influence

l 24 *three fine silken threads* The ribbons of the Garter, of the Thistle (re-established by Queen Anne in 1703), and of the Bath (revived in 1725) The parallel must not, however, be strained too far, as the green ribbon of the Thistle was not reckoned inferior to that of the Bath, as represented in the text

183, l 7 *high and low heels* This is a general satire on party government, but it is absurd to suppose it to refer specially to the High and Low Church parties

l 20 *the heir to the crown* This no doubt refers to the opposition between the friends of the Prince of Wales, and the advisers of George I

l 25 *Blefuscu* Swift no doubt means to suggest by this the power of France under Louis XIV, and the Big-end and Little-end controversy, fomented by the monarchs of Blefuscu, may very likely

refer to the disputes as to the succession. But we should narrow the range of the satire by forcing it to express actual struggles too exactly. It would not be safe to assume that Swift intended to represent the difference between Roman Catholics and Protestants as fitly typified by the Big-endians and the Little-endians, although his verdict upon the controversy ('which is the convenient end, seems, in my humble opinion, to be left to every man's conscience, or at least in the power of the chief magistrate to determine,' p 184, l 33) fairly summarizes his real opinion on religious controversy.

192, l 26 *He allowed your crimes to be great but that still there was room for mercy*. According to Swift's elliptical habit, a word of a different meaning from allowed, must be supplied in the second clause 'pleaded' or 'argued,' or the like.

195, l 13 *very different, as I have been assured, from the practices of former times*. In his more full description of the manners and government of the Lilliputians, Swift specially* says that the corruptions were the product of recent times, and that the original institutions had been good. This was his consistent attitude towards the actual state of England—that it was a corruption of what had originally been a sound constitution. In the present proclamation Swift perhaps meant to satirize the speeches with which the Irish Parliament was opened, professing an earnest desire for the prosperity of the country, which Swift believed Walpole's emissaries to be bent on ruining.

196, l 24 *my resolution of setting out that morning for Blefuscu*. The note in Scott's edition finds a reference here to Bolingbroke's escape to France after his fall in 1714. But Swift had scarcely such blind partiality for Bolingbroke as to suppose him to be to England what Gulliver was to the Lilliputians and when Swift wrote, Bolingbroke had been allowed to return from his Blefuscu, as no longer a serious danger to public tranquillity. The time would not have been well-chosen for commemorating his escape as the retirement of a giant from pigmies.

197, l 21 *I shall not trouble the reader, &c*. No other lines of this First Voyage bring together so admirably, as the first and second sentences of this short paragraph, the contrast between the mock solemnity of the description and the abject ludicrousness of the reality.

199, l 27 *in two hours*. It is to be observed that the scale of time is throughout shortened, but not enough to suit strictly a Lilliputian measure, and no such careful proportion is preserved as in regard to space. Thus the Emperor's reign has lasted eighty-nine moons or only some seven years—the historical memory of Lilliput goes back

only six thousand moons, or five hundred years and fifteen years answer to twenty-one with us But there is no microscopic diminution of time and in Brobdingnag, on the other hand, there is no enlargement of it to any degree at all Voltaire in his *Micromegas*, written in ridicule of Maupertuis and the Academy of Berlin, which has strong traces of Gulliver, endows his race of giants not only with a length of years proportionate to their size, but also with a complement of a thousand senses

A VOYAGE TO BROBDINGNAG

203, l 13 *about five degrees south latitude* In his descriptions here both in regard to the latitude of Madagascar and that of the Molucca group, as well as in regard to the ordinary direction of the winds in particular seasons, Swift is fairly near the truth, and follows the map of the world in Moll's Atlas (see Geog Note p 144) But this amount of verisimilitude is limited both by the defective knowledge of his day, and by the necessity of mystifying his readers From the north of Madagascar to the Molucca Islands is a distance of more than three thousand miles, to say nothing of crossing either the island of Sumatra, or Java Again, from the Molucca group, they could scarcely have been driven to the north of the Equator, as New Guinea lay directly in the way

204, l 7 In the (omitted) passage, which follows, Swift gives a travesty of the superabundant crowd of nautical terms by which the voyagers of his day sought to give reality to their accounts 'We belayed the fore down haul we hauled off upon the lanyard of the whupstaff, and helped the man at the helm' These terms were of course quite meaningless to Swift, and he was intolerant of a habit which strained after effect by methods, in his opinion, not legitimate in literature He himself told Mrs Whiteway that he took these descriptions from the current accounts of travellers, which he seems to have read with interest if not with belief

l 16 *to the north-west parts of Great Tartary* Where, of course, they could not, by any possibility, have come Swift wishes to baffle his readers, by supporting a view which had its adherents, and the unexplored nature of the region helped him (See Geog. Note p 441)

l 20. *whether* = which of the two.

205, l 13 *the length of the grass* Cf p 162, l 12

207, l 8. *Undoubtedly philosophers are in the right when they tell us that nothing is great or little otherwise than by comparison* Gulliver's

reflections upon his situation here recall the thought which Swift has entered in the note-book kept by him in 1727, when detained for a week at Holyhead 'I am as insignificant here as Parson Brook is in Dublin by my conscience, I believe Caesar would be the same without his army at his back'

208, l 30 *upon all four* The same phrase occurs on p 224, l 16

212, l 23 *nanunculus homuncelino* Swift forms the words himself from *nanus* and an incorrect form of *uomo* It would be difficult to name his authority for either

214, l 24 *since the King of Great Britain himself, in my condition, must have undergone the same distress* Cf the note on p 207, l 8

l 32 *so careful to put* Scott prints 'so careful as to put' But the other is the reading in the early editions and is much more in Swift's manner

l 33 *baby's = doll's*

216, l 9 *pumpkin* The older and more correct form of pumpkin

218, l 28 *I owed no other obligation to my late master* Observe the reluctance of Gulliver to recognise any obligation to the giant, and contrast it with his gratitude to the pigmy in Lilliput, even in spite of subsequent ill-designs (p 196, l 8)

219, l 14 *in the style peculiar to that people* Shared, as Swift doubtless intends to hint, by the crowd of court flatterers in Walpole's pay

l 28 *scrutore (ecritore)*, a writing-desk

220, l 1 *philosophy* = the sciences generally, physical as well as mental

221, l 14 *the scourge of France* Swift cannot forbear the reference to what he held to be the folly of the French war, as a means of giving point to his sarcasm

222, l 6 *became insolent* Again Scott prints 'so insolent'—against the earlier editions, and unlike Swift's manner

223, l 28 *allusion* Loosely used, in the sense of an implied comparison

229, l 28 *that extraordinary care always taken of their education* In his *Essay on Modern Education*, the wretched training given to the young nobility is the topic on which Swift insists most strongly.

l 31 *the highest court of judicature, from whence there could be no appeal* Swift was no friend to the appellate jurisdiction of the House of Lords (especially as it affected Ireland), and he doubtless wishes to exaggerate the possible inconvenience which might arise from the right (only taken away by recent legislation) of every member of the Upper House to sit in judicial cases See p 136, l 15 (note)

230, l 10 *among such of the priesthood as were most deservedly dis-*

tinguished by the sanctity of their lives, &c The meaning of this is clear when we remember Swift's opinion of the bench of Bishops, as filled under Walpole's rule

l 34 *for about an hundred years past* This comprised just that period of English history which, in Swift's opinion, was least worthy of commemoration His estimate of it is seen on p 234, l 22

231, l 20 *to decide in the last resort* Again the point chosen for satiric reference is not the legislative power of the House of Lords, but their appellate jurisdiction

l 27 *had never been compliers, &c* These were precisely the avenues which Swift believed to lead to the Bench under the Whig supremacy

232, l 11 *a weak and vicious prince* Probably Swift intended no very special reference, but his readers could hardly avoid the belief that George I was meant Who were indicated by 'a corrupted ministry' could scarcely be doubtful

l 22 *Whether advocates and orators had liberty to plead in causes manifestly known to be unjust, vexatious, or oppressive* Swift here implies his agreement with what is naturally a popular, but is nevertheless a mistaken view, that advocates must necessarily believe in the righteousness of a cause which their professional duty compels them to support The necessary inference from this, that a case which was *prima facie* weak would not command the highest professional services would evidently lead to grievous injustice

l 26 *Educated in the general knowledge of equity, or only in provincial, rational, and other local customs* Here again Swift shows how dangerous it is for a man to speak, without professional knowledge, of the principles upon which an elaborate and intricate system is based The danger of technicalities outweighing broad principles must always exist, but Swift's own age supplied abundant instances of lawyers who interpreted our legal system in no narrow spirit

l 29 *had any part in penning those laws, which, &c* Swift seems here to hint, if we may infer so from the closing words of the paragraph, that the legislative and judicial functions ought to be kept absolutely distinct It is not certain that this would always be an advantage

l 33 *whether they were a rich or a poor Corporation* It is difficult to see what is Swift's intention here The judges were not a corporation. They necessarily had belonged to the Inns of Court, and the next sentence seems to show that Swift is looking at the Bench and the Bar as parts of one whole He possibly means only to hint at the danger of an over-powerful profession, jealous of its privileges, and with excessive resources for defending these privileges

233, l 7 *to mention the issues* i.e. the bills issued by the Exchequer for money advanced to meet the public expenditure. These were first issued under William III, and began the system of a national debt, to which Swift was always opposed.

l 22 *a mercenary standing army* Another creation of his age, which Swift regarded as a serious menace to liberty. See p 15, l 31 (note).

234, l 1 *why those who entertain opinions prejudicial to the public, should be obliged to change, or should not be obliged to conceal them*. This sums up shortly Swift's views of the rights and duties of the Civil magistrate in regard to liberty of conscience. The words 'prejudicial to the public,' he virtually held to be sufficiently defined as 'contrary to those established by law'. He rarely condescended to argue with the Dissenters or Free-thinkers on the merits: he fought them only with two weapons — an appeal to law, and ridicule.

236, l 9 *which Dionysius Halicarnassensis, with so much justice, recommends to an historian*. In the opening passages of his *Ῥωμαϊκή Ἀρχαιολογία*, and in occasional passages where he treats of the aims of history, Dionysius of Halicarnassus (who, from B.C. 29, to his death, made Rome his dwelling place) speaks in this spirit of the duty of an historian: but it is curious that Swift should have cited the opinion of one whose history dealt not with his own, but with an adopted, country.

237, l 7 *when linked together by a chain*, which, long since discarded, was commonly used in Swift's day.

238, l 2 *enemy*, hostile. Bishop Taylor is quoted for a similar adjectival use of the word, now obsolete.

l 4 *discoveries in art or in nature*. Swift discards here the customary distinction between the words invention and discovery.

l 20 *them their ignorance*. Swift purposely, although somewhat abruptly, substitutes the Brobdingnagians generally for their king, in order to lessen the personal attack on the sovereign.

l 28 *all mystery, refinement, and intrigue*. See especially p 2 of this volume for an expression of that dislike of mystery in statesmanship which Swift's experience led him to think a source of weakness.

239, l 12 *as to ideas, entities, abstractions and transcendentals*. Swift was not untouched by such notions in the days when he wrote the early poems printed at the beginning of Volume I. But he soon came to treat them as only a form of pedantry in which pretentious ignorance shrouded itself, and considered them as only another form of the useless speculations with which he credited the Society of Gresham. In the voyage to Laputa, his chief object is to discredit

them and his hatred of such speculations formed one leading theme of the *Tale of a Tub*

l 19 *mercurial* See note on p 76, l 13, for Swift's use of this word

l 25 *as well as the Chinese* Swift adopts the notion, commonly received, that the Chinese had discovered the art of printing because they stamped impressions from blocks—an invention which was known among the ancients, which the Chinese carried out with very considerable skill, but which is, of course, very distinct from the type-printing to which the name properly belongs, and from which the great changes associated with the invention take their rise

240, l 25 *the usual topics of European moralists* Which Swift ridiculed in his *Dissertation upon a Broomstick*

245, l 8 *Perhaps many travellers have not been* The arrangement of the words (instead of the more usual 'Perhaps not many travellers have been') is thoroughly characteristic of Swift

248, l 8 *to rights* A use now obsolete, or colloquial only, in the sense of 'straight,' or 'directly'

249, l 3 *my chest, as he called it* 'My box' is the word used by the crew on p 247, but neither seems natural in the mouths of men of Gulliver's own size

251, l 18 *nothing could now pass* Compare the concluding paragraphs of the *Tale of a Tub*, beginning on p 191 of Vol I

252, l 34 *the comparison of Phaeton was so obvious* Except that he fell from a great height, the comparison is certainly not very obvious. Poor Gulliver had no vaulting ambition and strove to guide no fiery steeds. Swift probably means to ridicule the habit of obtruding trite allusions with no care whether they were apposite or not.

253, l 4 *north-eastward to the latitude of 44 degrees, and of longitude 143* This would bring them to the northern point of Yezo, and only a little north of the situation Swift afterwards assigns to Laputa. The storm must have been a tolerably severe and lengthy one which drove them some three thousand miles out of their course.

l 7 *New Holland* The old name for Australia, about which, of course, very little was known in Swift's day, except the general situation of its western parts. The direction from the north coast of Australia to the Cape of Good Hope might fairly, although loosely be described in the words of the text.

l 18 *Redriff* = Rotherhithe

l 33 *erect* = raised. The same use is not infrequent in Swift's age.

254, l 10 *a right understanding* In the sense in which Swift uses the word we should rather say 'a common understanding'

A VOYAGE TO LAPUTA.

The third voyage is that which has proved least interesting and attractive to readers, and probably no part of it, except that relating to the Struldbrugs, has obtained the same currency in the mouths of men as the incidents of the other voyages. Yet Swift seems to have held it to be the best of all, and was somewhat disappointed with its reception. The reason of both is evident enough. In *Laputa* Swift deals largely with those same weaknesses of humanity which were satirized in the *Tale of a Tub*. He chooses for his ridicule the same defects of vanity, pedantry, and affectation of profundity, alike in thought and in literature, which moved his wrath both in the *Tale* and in the *Battle of the Books*. The hatred with which he regarded these follies was the chief motive of his literary work. Hence it is not surprising that he himself felt a special interest in *Laputa*. But he has failed to impress his readers as much, because the vehicle of his sarcasm is not nearly so effective here as in the *Tale of a Tub*, or the *Battle of the Books*, where he is encumbered with no stage arrangement, and where the story of the three sons and their father's coats, and that of the combat in the king's library, are never allowed to interfere with the sweep of the Satire. In *Laputa*, the allegory is almost tiresome in its detail, and the sarcastic point which it is meant to convey is too delicate to be expressed through such a medium. It is often smothered in the folds and draperies of the stage arrangements. And on the other hand, Swift's pre-occupation with this sarcastic motive—attacking special tendencies of his time, in commercial enterprise, in scientific research, in philosophical and literary methods—interferes with the smooth movement of the fable. We have no interest whatever in any of the characters. We do not for a moment find ourselves picturing the story as true. It has none of the vivid force of the three other voyages, which seem to us for the moment to be real and actual. Hence it is that although Swift has thrown into this voyage much strength of personal feeling and strokes of his most incisive satire, yet, as a whole, it falls infinitely below the others in force and attractiveness, and sometimes almost ~~palls~~ upon the reader. It can suffer excision with less of loss than any other of the *Travels*.

Page 255, l 2 a *Cornish man*. As was the Captain under whom Gulliver sailed in his second voyage.

256, l 9 *Fort St George* = Madras

l 11 *Tonquin* Dampier (in Harris's Collection, see Geographical note p 441) was at Tonquin in 1688, and by that time there were French, English, and Dutch *factories* (or mercantile agencies) in the country and a considerable trade was done with Europe

l 33 *a Dutchman* Swift misses no opportunity of showing his ill-will towards the Dutch, in whose interests rather than in those of England, he always thought that the war of the Succession had been undertaken and continued

257, l 6 *of neighbouring countries in strict alliance* An alliance which, ever since he wrote the *Conduct of the Allies*, Swift thought to have existed to the detriment of England

l 34 *in the latitude of 46 N and of longitude 183* (The reckoning is that of *Moll's* maps, which count to 360 degrees of longitude west from Greenwich, and not according to the modern method, 180 degrees west, and 180 degrees east) This would bring them some 2000 miles at least to the east of Japan But a journey (padding and sailing) of a few hours each day, for five days, brings him to Laputa, from which the access is represented as easy to Japan Swift did not desire to be geographically accurate in his references to real places, nor did the knowledge of his day enable him to be so But he gives to Laputa a much more definite place than that assigned to any other of the regions visited by Gulliver The place is in constant intercourse with Japan, and no startling or improbable machinery has to be invented to get Gulliver back to his fellow men In the original map Luggnagg is shown lying to the east of Japan by a space about equal to its own size, and Balnibarbi lies rather farther off to the north-east

258, l 13 *all rocky, only a little intermingled, &c.* The sentence is elliptical, and so irregular, 'all rocky' is = filled with rocks, (which were) intermingled, &c

259, l 7 *the bottom flat, smooth, and shining very bright* The whole of this description is forced and artificial, and takes us quite away from the impression of reality given by the accounts of Lilliput and Brobdingnag

l 29 *who then disappeared* As constantly occurs in Swift, the relative refers not to the last noun preceding, but to that which is most important The modern usage has become more strict

260, l 25 *reclined* Modern usage would put *inclined* This description of the attitude, combined with the absence of mind, corresponds with that which Swift is recorded to have given of Sir Isaac Newton

l 26, *one of their eyes turned inward, &c.* The description here

and in the next page recalls in several points that of *Jack* in the *Tale of a Tub* (pages 152 and 184 of Vol I)

262, l 11 *mathematical instruments* Swift makes this science the special object of his satire, as symptomatic of the pursuits of the society of Gresham House. He is careful (p 264, l 2) to exempt 'practical geometry' from the satire. To Swift the signs and symbols of mathematics were associated with the charlatanism which had been rife in the seventeenth century, and was ridiculed in *Hudibras*.

l 15 *attended*, here, as not infrequently in Swift, is used exactly in the sense of the French *attendre*, to wait.

263, l 27, *he first took my altitude by a quadrant* This is a contrast with the literal rule of the thumb followed by the sempstresses of Lilliput, who made shirts for Gulliver by measuring his thumb, and calculating 'by a mathematical computation, that twice round his thumb, is once round the wrist, and so on to the neck and the waist'. As a result 'they fitted me exactly'. Scott detects in the miscalculation of the Laputans, a satirical reference to the error of Sir I Newton's printer, by which the distance of the earth from the sun was prodigiously increased.

264, l 4 *intellectuals* See note on p 161, l 28 of Vol I

l 5 *which occasions* See note on p 259, l 29

l 11 *mathematics and music* Swift may possibly have noticed the frequent union between the mathematical and musical faculties but it is more likely that he simply joins in his sarcasm the pursuit of music—for which he had no taste—with that of mathematics, the abuses of which were more apparent to him than its value.

l 14 *Imagination, fancy, and invention* Almost the same as the 'sweetness and light' alluded to in the *Battle of the Books* (Vol I p 212, l 7, and note)

l 27 *among most of the mathematicians I have known in Europe* Swift may have had in his mind Wilkins, Bishop of Chester, who, though the brother-in-law of Cromwell, and suspected of anti-monarchical tendencies, nevertheless secured promotion under Charles II, and who combined mathematical knowledge with the most whimsical notions. Wallis, the opponent of Hobbes and Savilian Professor of Geometry at Oxford, who was involved in the strife of parties and even Gassendi, Leibnitz, Descartes, and Newton—all of whom gave up to politics some part of the time which they could better have spent in science.

l 34 *a very common infirmity of human nature* Which Swift has gibbeted in the opening lines of the *Rhapsody on Poetry* (p 382 of this volume).

265, l 4 *under continual disquietudes* The same tendency which Swift describes (on p 241, l 14 of this vol) 'of drawing matter of discontent and repining, from the quarrels we raise with nature' But Swift, of course, misjudged entirely the value of the astronomical investigations of his day He confounded them with the vague theories of the astrologers and involved them in the contempt which was deserved by the superstitious notions of the past He did not observe that scientific inquiry, however halting and mistaken in its beginnings, was really a rebellion against these superstitious notions As a matter of fact, both Flamsteed and Halley, who were successively Astronomers Royal in Swift's day, made most valuable contributions to the science of astronomy and Halley was the first to predict the future course of the planet which is called by his name, which had appeared in 1682, and the reappearance of which he correctly anticipated for 1759 It is true that Gregory, Professor of Astronomy at Oxford, who died in 1708, did, in common with Maupertuis, the President of the Academy of Berlin, and Sydenham, anticipate possible danger from the impact of the nucleus of a comet But others, even in that day, combated this notion, and even subsequent investigation cannot warrant any positive statement in regard to the influence of comets

267, l 2 *for that reason alone* = for that, but for no other, reason Modern usage would naturally make the words mean 'for that reason by itself (without requiring any other)'

l 6 *so ill an ear for music* As was the case with Swift himself In verses to himself, after he had allowed an Oratorio in St Patrick's, he begins—

'Grave Dean of St Patrick's, how comes it to pass,
That you, who know music no more than an ass'

269, l 6 *I could not discover one ear of corn, or blade of grass* Swift doubtless intends to point the contrast between vain and useless speculation, typified in Laputa, and the modesty of practical common sense, in the mouth of the King of Brobdingnag (p 239, l 2)

270, l 11 *putting all arts, sciences, languages, and mechanics, upon a new foot* This refers to the fantastic schemes of Raymond Lully, Cornelius Agrippa, Bruno, and others, of regenerating, and supplying rules for, all scientific and mechanical achievements

l 13 *an academy of projectors* This is no doubt aimed at the whimsical absurdities which were put forward in the feverish fit of commercial speculation which had just preceded the publication of Gulliver, and Swift is not alone in his own age in ridiculing these,

But it is curious that in the enumeration of absurdities, which he prolongs even to tediousness (and which has been here omitted), Swift seems more indebted to suggestions from Rabelais than in any other passage

271, l 6 *The continent, of which this kingdom is a part, extends itself,* &c In these opening sentences, Swift takes full advantage of the defective geographical knowledge of the day. Vaguely he seems to conceive of Asia as stretching to the eastward to meet America, stretching west from California. In a passage in *Brobdingnag*, indeed, he expressly says, 'I cannot but conclude that our geographers of Europe are in a great error in supposing nothing but sea between Japan and California.' In *Brobdingnag*, however, Swift had to find room for a kingdom 6000 miles long, and from 3000 to 5000 broad. His map shows the islands close to Japan, and in such a situation that, instead of his supposed continent, a clear sea of some 5000 miles would lie between them and California, which would be due west of them. The latitude and longitude given in l 12, on the other hand, are in very fair accordance with the situation which he gives to Luggnagg on his fanciful map.

272, l 21 *a power of calling whom he pleaseth from the dead* It is curious that this device is introduced into the *Tailler* (No 81) which is generally, but not certainly, ascribed to Swift.

273, l 15 *who* Comp p 259, l 29 (note), and p 264, l 5

274, l 23 *not a drop of vinegar in his camp* Alluding, of course, to Livy's account of Hannibal's method of cutting a road through the Alps, which has always been a stock subject of controversy.

l 27 *representative* = representative assembly. Modern usage has confined the word to an individual who appears in a representative capacity, and does not extend it to the assembly of which he forms a part.

l 29 *a knot of pedlars, pick-pockets, highwaymen and bullies* Swift seems almost to anticipate the invective of the *Legion Club* (p 398 of this vol.)

l 31 *Caesar and Brutus*. As to Swift's view of the assassination of Caesar, which he always regarded as a meritorious act, see note in Vol I on p 320, l 1. So in his short paper on '*Those who have made a mean contemptible figure in some action of their lives*' Swift cites 'Julius Caesar, when Antony offered to put a diadem on his head, and the people shouted for joy to see him decline it; which he never offered to do, until he saw their dislike in their countenances.'

275, l 8 *Socrates, Epaminondas, Cato the Younger, Sir Thomas More*. All of these, it may be noticed, are cited by Swift in the paper corresponding to that quoted in the preceding note, '*Of those who have made great figures in some action of their lives*'

276, l 1 *his eyes were the most quick and piercing I ever beheld* Swift sets aside the tradition of Homer's blindness 'Homer,' said he to Deane Swift, 'had more genius than all the rest of the world put together' (Deane Swift's *Essay*, p 237)

l 2 *Aristotle stooped much, and made use of a staff* Swift wrote of Aristotle that he 'seems to be a person of the most comprehensive genius that ever lived' (Deane Swift's *Essay*, p 283) But here Swift is pressing the inferiority of logic to poetic genius and imagination The *staff* is the artificial aid which poetic genius did not require

l 11 *Didymus and Eustathius* Didymus was an Alexandrine commentator on Homer in the Augustan age Eustathius of Constantinople, in the twelfth century, formed a great compilation of the *scholia* of the older commentators

l 16 *Scotus and Ramus* These are cited simply as typical participants in the wordy and useless controversies, founded upon the mass of commentary and interpretation which had grown around the pseudo-Aristotelianism of the Schools Swift could not, of course, class together, as holding similar positions towards Aristotle, Duns Scotus, the Aristotelian commentator of the fourteenth century, and Ramus, the bold impugner of Aristotelian doctrine in the sixteenth Scotus is named by Swift, with some implied contempt, on p 218, l 5 of Vol I

l 19. *Descartes and Gassendi* The object of this paragraph appears to be only to show that all theories which attempt to explain or account for natural phenomena are equally useless and misleading. Aristotle confesses himself wrong but he finds that Gassendi, who had revived the doctrines of Epicurus, and Descartes with his *Vortices*, to which Swift makes so frequent allusion, were as much exploded as himself We find Gassendi and Descartes again coupled together in the *Battle of the Books* (see Vol I p 212, l 23 note), and in the *Tale of a Tub* (Vol I p 165) the atoms of Epicurus (represented here by Gassendi) and the *Vortices* of Descartes are classed together as specimens of what an unsympathetic world might think qualifications for Bedlam It is curious that by Swift, Epicurus is never mentioned without some implied sarcasm, although by his patron, Temple, the merits of Epicurus are specially extolled

l 27 *Attraction* Which had formed so large a part in the speculations of Sir Isaac Newton Of the nature and foundations of the theory Swift was, of course, quite unfitted to judge, still less to foresee its practical results

278, l 5 *they did never once prefer any person of merit.* Compare this with the speech of the king in Brobdingnag, p 235, l. 7.

1 34 *Some English yeomen of the old stamp* Swift frequently expresses his belief in our degeneracy from a better England. Even the king of Brobdingnag allows that the debased state which Gulliver describes 'in its original, might have been tolerable.'

279, l 11 *The Luggnaggians* It is well to remember that there are four islands, Laputa, or the Flying Island, Balnibarbi, with its capital Lagado, Glubbdubdrib, or the isle of sorcerers, and Luggnagg, with its Struldbrugs. Maldonada is a port on Balnibarbi, whence Luggnagg is reached. But on the map which faces p 255, it is wrongly marked between Glubbdubdrib and Luggnagg.

282, l 24 *in an hospitable manner, yet still on the saving side* This was an exact description of Swift's own manner of living in Dublin.

283, l 3 *would harden me to lose with little or no reluctance* Time did not give this aid to Swift, who, long after he wrote this, continued to feel keenly the loss of friends.

284, l 8 *answerable* This is used in three senses by Swift: first (as here) *responsible*, next, *open to answer* (e.g. an argument unanswerable, Vol I p 147, l 32) and lastly *corresponding* (e.g. did not seem answerable to those excellent qualities, p 228, l 28 of this vol.)

1 22 *from which nature always prompted him to retreat* This must surely have been in Johnson's mind when he wrote—

'Counts death kind nature's signal of retreat'

(*Vanity of Human Wishes*)

1 28 *which no man could be so foolish to hope* It is worth comparing the earlier lines of Tennyson's *Tithonus*, in order to observe the difference in treatment of the same theme—the uselessness of immortality, so long as—

the strong hours indignant worked their wills
And beat me down, and marr'd and wasted me'

1 26 *the vices of the younger sort* In the MS. resolutions, written by Swift in 1699, and headed 'when I come to be old,' the following occurs: 'Not to be severe with young people, but give allowances for their youthfull follies, and weakness.'

286, l 21 *meers* The word commonly used in Ireland for a march line.

289, l 13 *at Leyden* See p 160, l 7

A VOYAGE TO THE COUNTRY OF THE HOUYHNHNMS

Page 291, l 10 *the Bay of Campechy to cut logwood* Campechy in Yucatan, on the Gulf of Mexico, is still a centre for the logwood trade

l 17 *the cause of his destruction* We are not told how Swift probably meant only to ridicule the self-satisfied moralizing not seldom seen in travellers' tales

292, l 1 *calentures, fevers* (Latin *calere*)

293, l 23 *I never beheld, in all my travels, so disagreeable an animal* Swift is careful to represent Gulliver as without the faintest suspicion that there is any kinship between himself and the Yahoos

295, l 28 *felt the lappet of my coat* The Brobdingnagian did the same thing (see p 208, l 24)

296, l 26 *expressed the passions* He gave a correct clue to the feelings. This was Swift's chief aim in writing but we should be wrong to understand by the *passions*, as he uses the word here, any specially strong emotion. Compare his warnings against 'moving' oratory, in the *Letter to a Young Clergyman*, p 77. Language which 'expressed the passions' in that sense would not have earned Swift's admiration

l 29 *the word Yahoo* This and the word *Houyhnhnm* may be due to the same train of suggestion. *Houyhnhnm*, which ought, I take it, to be pronounced so as to separate each of the last five letters, is evidently an attempt to represent the horse's neigh—that being the only part of the language, so 'expressive of the passions,' which is recognisable by human ears. Similarly *Yahoo* may be a representation of 'woa' or some other shout of a driver to his horse—that being the only part of human speech which is familiar to horses. The uncouth names and words in the other Voyages seem to be imitations of those which the travellers used to introduce to represent, probably with little attention to accuracy, the language of the races amongst whom they were thrown. But in this voyage all such names seem to be suggested by fitness of sound.

298, l 7 *sitting down upon their hams* It is curious that Swift should make this the natural posture for the horse. But in the same way he makes the Yahoos, as a rule, go upon four feet, and speaks of Gulliver's standing on his hind feet, as an 'affectation'

1 18 *vista*, in the language of the landscape gardening of the day, was used of something seen between a number of intervening objects

299, 1 32 *our countenances diligently compared* Swift may have got his suggestion for this from the comparison of the hero, in Bergerac's *Voyage to the Moon*, with the apes

300, 1 8 *nuzzling*, pressing with the nose (nozzle) The word is also used for 'nursing,' from the older *nousle*

1 34 *few greater lovers of mankind at that time than myself* That is, until his association with the Houyhnhnms had taught him to loathe his own kind The sentence has a special force when we remember Swift's attitude as described in his own words—'he hated and detested that animal called man he loved only individuals (Letter to Pope, Sept 29, 1725)

301, 1 1 *sensitive* = possessed of the physical senses

302, 1 28 *not the least idea of books or literature* Swift's detestation of literary affectations led him to merge all literature in a common contempt But it is to be noted that he does not include poetry in literature, but represents the Houyhnhnms as excellent therein (p 324, 1 4)

303, 1 33 *the thing which was not* Swift elsewhere explains that as the Houyhnhnms could not conceive the idea of a lie, this was the nearest description of it which their language admitted. The phrase became common in the correspondence between Swift and his friends

305, 1 17 *the most generous and comely animal we had* In this, as in many other phrases in the *Voyage*, we see that Swift's selection of horses as a foil to men, was not casual, but inspired by a special love of the animal, and he seems to have prided himself on his stable

310, 1 10 *the long war with France* Swift can never spare a fling at this war, the object of his attack at the time of his political supremacy

1 26 *whether flesh be bread, or bread be flesh, &c* These sentences recall the tone of some passages in the *Tale of a Tub* Experience had not taught Swift how offensive such allusions might be to others, though he seems to have uttered them without a thought of their being derogatory to religious beliefs

311, 1 3 *pretend* is a subjunctive, which in Swift is much more common than it has now become

1 27 *Poor nations are hungry, and rich nations are proud, &c* Compare Vol I p 199, 1 16

312, 1 4 *such as those in Germany and other northern parts of Europe* For some reason Swift altered this in later editions to

'those in many northern parts of Europe' The earlier versions pointed more distinctly at the employment of German mercenaries for the defence of Hanoverian interests

313, l 11 *gunayh* Like most of the names in this voyage, this may be taken from the cry of birds of prey

314, l 5 *a society of men among us, &c* Compare in Brobdingnag (p 232)

316, l 25 *managing* In the sense of the French *ménager* See Vol I p 64, l 33 (note)

317, l 10 *entered on a firm resolution never to return to human kind* This is in complete contrast to his feeling in the former voyages He respects the Brobdingnagians, but even from them he is glad to escape

318, l 13 *nor climb trees like my brethren* Swift elsewhere describes the extreme cleverness of the Yahoos in climbing trees, and this is the only hint of a kinship between them and the apes

321, l 27 *wherein he entirely agreed with the sentiments of Socrates, as Plato delivers them* Swift no doubt refers here to the passages in the 5th and 6th Books of the *Republic*, on the distinction between *ἐπιστήμη* and *δόξα* But, if so, he really misunderstands Plato's meaning, which distinguishes between knowledge founded on scientific grounds, and mere acceptance of a belief He comes nearer to the Platonic dictum on ll 16-19 but Plato says nothing about 'knowledge of other people's conjectures'

l 29 *that prince of philosophers* Socrates is numbered in the *Sextumvirate* of heroes (p 275, l 8)

322, l 6 *not confined to particular objects, but universal to the whole race* This was a view rather assumed by Swift, than either in accordance with his own practice, or, probably, with his own feelings He can scarcely have believed that human nature was degraded by the ties of kindred, and the feelings to which they give rise There is a certain artificiality of tone both here and on p 324

326, l 17 *splenetics* A favourite word with Swift to express the peevish and groundless ill-temper bred by indulgence It is a disease to which the Yahoos are subject, as described by the Houyhnhnm.

l 18 *virtuosos* Dabblers in scientific experiments are often so named in the *Tale of a Tub* (see Vol I p 104, l 2, note)

330, l 20 Here Swift parts from the Houyhnhnms Of the two remaining chapters of the *Voyage*, the first describes, with a nauseousness which even Swift has rarely exceeded, the loathing for his own kind bred by his life amongst the superior race and the last sums up, with something of needless iteration, the topics of satire which have inspired all the four *Voyages*.

ESSAY ON CONVERSATION

Swift has put into verse some of the maxims of this Essay, in his lines *To a Lady, who desired the Author to write some verses upon her in the Heroic Style*

‘Conversation is like carving
Carve for all, yourself is starving
Give no more to every guest,
Than he’s able to digest,
Give him always of the prime,
And but little at a time
Carve to all but just enough
Let them neither starve nor stuff
And that you may have your due,
Let your neighbours carve for you’

Page 332, l 20 *so useful and innocent a pleasure* ‘It is a degree towards the life of angels,’ says Steele in the *Spectator* (No 100), ‘when we enjoy conversation wherein there is nothing presented but in its excellence’

333, l 25 *they are the strangest men in the world, &c* This is the

‘Asperitas agrestis et inconcinna gravisque
Quae se commendat tonsa cute, dentibus atris,
Dum volt libertas dici mera veraque virtus

of Horace (Epist I r8 o) Had Swift also in his mind the passage in *King Lear* (Act II sc 11.)?

‘This is some fellow,
Who, having been praised for bluntness, doth affect
A saucy roughness and constrains the garb
Quite from his nature He cannot flatter, he—
An honest mind and plain—he must speak truth,
And they will take it—so if not, he’s plain’

335, l 11, *an humble audience of young students from the inns of court* This can hardly have been written without some thought of Pope’s famous lines on ‘Atticus’

‘Like Cato give his little Senate laws,
And sit attentive to his own applause,
While Wits and Templars every sentence raise,
And wonder with a foolish face of praise’—

and Swift may, like Pope, have had Addison in view.

l 19 *pedantry is the too frequent or unseasonable obtruding our own knowledge in common discourse* This is the definition of Pedantry given by Addison, in *Spectator* (No 105)

l 28 *that is a liberty* i e to talk on such subjects—not, to put men upon talking on them

336, l 28 *Raillery* Compare the lines in the verses *To a Lady* (quoted above), where Swift contrasts raillery with scolding—

‘I may storm and rage in vain
It but stupefies your brain
But with raillery to nettle,
Sets your thoughts upon their mettle
Gives imagination scope
Never lets your mind elope
Drives out brangling and contention
Brings in reason and invention

Steele in *Spectator* (No 422) says, ‘Calisthenes *rallies* the best of any man I know, for he forms his ridicule upon a circumstance which you are in your heart not unwilling to grant, to wit, that you are guilty of an excess in something which is in itself laudable’ Neither this, however, nor Steele’s further definition of raillery as ‘directed against vice, with an air of contempt of the fault, but no ill-will to the criminal,’ hits off raillery *in conversation* so delicately as Swift’s description

337, l 5 *an impatience to interrupt others* In his *Character of Mrs Johnson* (Stella) Swift says ‘She never had the least absence of mind in conversation (cf p 339, l 12) or was given to interruption, or appeared eager to put in her word, by waiting impatiently until another had done’

340, l 5 *I take the highest period of politeness in England to have been the peaceable part of King Charles the First’s reign* Swift might almost seem to base his opinion upon the account of that period given by Lord Clarendon in his *Life* The *Life* was not printed till 1759 but it is by no means impossible that Swift may have read parts of it in the MS It certainly gives good ground for the view which Swift here expresses

l 16 *although we are apt to ridicule the sublime platonic notions they had, or personated, in love and friendship, I conceive, &c* It is curious that Swift, who had very little tincture of this in his own composition, should see that it had a good side, and should say something, by anticipation, in answer to the sweeping ~~ridicule~~ which Johnson pours upon this habit of mind in his *Life of Cowley*

POEMS.

BAUCIS AND PHILEMON

The theme of this piece is taken from the fable of Baucis and Philemon in the 8th Book of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, but only some half dozen lines actually represent the original Latin. The two hermits come in place of Jupiter and Mercury, in Ovid

345, l 19, *sous* In colloquial English this was pronounced *sowse*
For the rhyme, compare *Hudibras*, Part III, c 2

'Convened at midnight in out-houses
T'appoint new-rising rendezvouses'

346, l 3 *While he from out the chimney took*
A flitch of bacon off the hook
So in Ovid,—

'Furca levat ille bicorni
Sordida terga suis, nigro pendentia tigno'

l 20 *Behold, a miracle was wrought* So in Ovid,—

'Interea, quoties haustum cratera repleri
Sponte sua, per seque vident succrescere vina,
Attoniti novitate pavent'

348, l 13 *of Chevy Chase and English Moll* The exploits of Mary Ambree at Ghent, are celebrated in a ballad belonging to the end of the sixteenth century (Percy's *Reliques*, vol II p 230). Her name is mentioned by Ben Jonson, and elsewhere, as a synonym for a virago. So in *Hudibras*, Part I c 2 l 368, Trulla is described as

'A bold virago, stout and tall
As Joan of France, or English Mall'

Swift, in the usually printed version, as altered by Addison, seems to have borrowed from *Hudibras*, as he omits Chevy Chase and writes 'Of Joan of France, and English Mall'. He is describing the interior of a yeoman's house as he found it when, as we are told, in his journeys between Moor Park and his mother's house at Leicester, he used to find lodging in such places

l 24 *q^{ue} Tribe* The prints that adorned the walls supplied some Scripture history, in pictorial representations of the Tribes of Israel

l 33 *The holy men desired their host,*
To ask for what he wanted most

So in Ovid,—

‘Talia cum placito Saturnius edidit ore
Dicite, juste senex, et femina conjuge justo
Digna, quid optetis’

349, l 8 *make me the parson, if you please*

‘Esse sacerdotes, delubraque vestra tuern
Poscimus’

350, l 2 *colberteen* A kind of lace, from Colbert, a superintendent of the French King’s manufactures

l 27 *Old Goodman Dobson of the Green
Remembers he the trees has seen, &c*

‘Ostendit adhuc Tyaneus illic
Incola de gemina vicinos arbore tiuncos’

TO THE EARL OF PETERBOROUGH

Peterborough, previously Lord Mordaunt, whose career resembled rather that of one of the Knights Errant of the middle ages, than that of a statesman and commander in the more sober age of Queen Anne, was an intimate friend of Swift ‘I love the hangdog dearly,’ he says to Stella, after telling how they had arranged to correspond

Page 351, l 10 *From Paris Gazette A-la main, &c* The last two lines of the verse seem to represent a quotation from the current *Paris Gazette* His arrival at Paris is announced when the messenger has gone to seek him at Madrid and next morning, while the *Paris Gazette* is still fresh, the Post-boy is shouting his arrival at Dover from Leghorn

*

IN SICKNESS.

Swift had recently arrived in Ireland to be installed as Dean of St Patrick’s, and had been received with insult and execration, where he was, in a few years, to be hailed as the national hero

DR. SWIFT TO MR. POPE

In March 1726, after an absence of twelve years, Swift paid a visit of some five months to England, and for a time stayed, along with Gay, at Pope’s Twickenham Villa. The friends were then at the height of their fame and during this visit, arrangements were made for the issue of the now completed *Gulliver’s Travels*, which appeared in November of the same year Pope was at the same time busy over the *Dunciad*, and Gay with the *Beggar’s Opera*, so that the three Yahoos, as Bolingbroke already calls them, were fully engaged

Page 354, l 9 *Now backs of letters* Which were a God send to 'paper-sparing Pope' as the Dean elsewhere calls him

l 13 *Each atom by some other struck* With a reference to the Epicurean system, as described by Swift in the *Tale of a Tub* (Vol I p 165, l 1)

l 19 *That without which a thing is not* 'Without you,' writes Pope to Swift (Nov 12, 1728), 'the poem had never been'

l 25 *Sherlock* William Sherlock, Dean of St Paul's

ON CENSURE

This may have been written partly as a hint to Pope to endure attacks with calmness We know that Swift disapproved of Pope's distinguishing his maligners by noticing them, and just at this time he would have the impression of Pope's irritability fresh upon him

Page 357, l 7 *Stand high in honours, wealth, or wit* 'Censure' wrote Swift elsewhere as quoted by Addison in the *Spectator* (No 101), 'is the tax a man pays to the public for being eminent'

ON THE DEATH OF DR SWIFT

Page 358, l 6 *Thus maxim* 'Dans l'adversite de nos meilleurs amis, nous trouvons toujours quelque chose qui ne nous déplaît pas'

l 15 *who would not at a crowded show* Cf on p 97 of Vol I

360, l 3 *who dares to irony pretend* Arbuthnot's chief works in this kind were the *History of John Bull* and the *Art of Political Lying* He would have been the last himself to pretend to such irony as Swift could wield

l 6 *St John as well as Pult'ney knows* Both Bolingbroke and William Pulteney were now attacking Walpole's government in the *Craftsman* Pulteney commanded Swift's highest admiration in these later years Their correspondence was frequent and Swift never writes without complimenting Pulteney as 'ultimus Britannorum,' 'the chief support of liberty to his country,' and so forth

l 30 *that old vertigo* *Labyrinthine vertigo* is the name now given by medical science to the disease from which Swift is believed to have suffered It led to pressure on the brain, and the consequent paralysis which produced the lethargy that preceded his death by some years. Swift used the word only for 'giddiness,' which was one of its recurrent symptoms The Latin line (with its halting metre) which he applied to himself, is well known

'Vertiginosus, inops, surdus, male gratus amicis'

361, l 23 *He hardly drinks a pint of wine* 'My stint in company' says Swift, 'is a pint at noon'

363, l 2 *'Tis all bequeathed to public uses* Swift's will, leaving the bulk of his property to found the Hospital of St Patrick's for Lunatics and Incurables, was dated 1740 But it must have followed the lines of a previous will, as Swift had long before made no secret of his determination so to apply his savings

l 8 *no worthy friend, no poor relation* Swift did leave something to Mrs Whiteway, his cousin, to Rebecca Dingley, Stella's companion, and to Mrs Ridgway, the daughter of Mrs Brent, his housekeeper

l 30 *I'm glad the medals were forgot* When Swift was in London in 1726, an interview was arranged by Lady Suffolk, between him and Queen Caroline This petty grievance about the promised medals is often recalled, half in jest and half in earnest, by Swift

364, l 1 *Chartres* Colonel Chartres, a most notorious debauchee of the time, now dead, but whose noisome reputation still lingered

l 4 *Bob*=Sir Robert Walpole

l 6 *Will*=William Pulteney

l 9 *Cuill* The pirate bookseller, whose unscrupulous accounts of the dead 'added a new terror to death'

l 12 *Tibbalds, Moore, and Cibber* Tibbalds is Lewis Theobald, the original hero of the *Dunciad* His work as a Shakespearian commentator was insufficiently appreciated in his own day Jemmy Moore, the son of Arthur Moore, was the author of a comedy, and is also gibbeted in the *Dunciad* as the image set up by Dullness

'With pert flat eyes she windowed well his head,
A brain of feathers, and a heart of lead

So like, that critics said, and courtiers swore,
A wit it was, and called the phantom Moore'

Colley Cibber, now Poet Laureate, was a playwright and theatrical manager and his *Apology for his Life* shows more ability than would be imagined from the attacks of the *Dunciad* (in which he replaced Theobald as hero), and from the estimate of Pope's circle

l 16. *Which Pope must bear as well as I* This line, like the poem *On Censure*, may well have been intended to convey a hint to Pope against undue irritation

l 19. *Poor Pope will grieve a month, and Gay, &c* All three died before Swift Gay died in 1732, and Arbuthnot in 1734 The deaths of Mr Gay and Dr Arbuthnot have been terrible wounds near my heart,' writes Swift to Pope Swift could ascribe to others a cynicism which he did not himself feel Pope died in May 1744,

seventeen months before Swift, but when Swift was beyond the feeling of good or ill

1 21 *St John himself* The indifference was probably more true of St John than it would have been of any of the others named

365, 1 8 *the vole* In Ombre (the game described so carefully in Pope's *Rape of the Lock*) the *vole* is the play which may gain for the dealer all the tricks or may leave him a heavy loser. The player must needs have all his wits about him, and could have little thought to spend upon news of an expected death. The word is from *vola*, late Latin for the palm of the hand

1 31 *Lintot* Bernard Lintot, a well known bookseller of the day, immortalized in the *Dunciad*

366, 1 2 *Duck lane* A street of obscure book-shops, in Smithfield. Pope names it in the *Essay on Criticism*,

'Scotists and Thomists, now, in peace remain,

Amidst their kindred cobwebs in Duck-Lane'

1 16 *Stephen Duck* was an entirely self-educated man, who was patronized by the Queen about 1730, and by this means attained a certain literary reputation. He afterwards became a clergyman. Swift wrote a few lines on Duck, 'From threshing corn who turns to thresh his brains,' and he says of him elsewhere, 'that those who ever saw his poems, think them all not worth a straw'

1 22 *Mr Henley's last oration* 'Orator' Henley was at first a clergyman of the Church of England, but conceiving himself to be trammelled by conventional modes, relinquished his calling and hired a room in Newport Market, where he entertained his audience, admitted by payment, with lectures on theology, and 'other sciences'. Pope, in the *Dunciad*, speaks of 'Henley's gilt tub,' and extols him as

'Preacher at once, and Zany of thy age'

His aberrations can scarcely be explained except on the hypothesis of defective mental balance

1 25 *Woolston* One of the 'free thinkers' of the time, who conceived (p. 367, 1 4) that the facts recorded by Moses were allegorical only, and not historical. He was another of the unworthy objects of Walpole's patronage

367, 1 3 *as sure as God's in Gloucester* The origin of this saying is doubtful. 'A foolish and profane proverb,' says Fuller in his *Worthies*, 'unfit to be used, however some seek to qualify it'. He derives it either from the fertility of Gloucestershire, or as though 'God's gracious presence were there more peculiarly fixed,' there being 'more, and richer mitred abbeys than in any two shires of England'

368, 1, 21 *The Irish senate if you named* Swift's grievances against

the Irish Parliament fell chiefly under two heads—the favour shown to the Dissenters, and the lay interference with the rights of the clergy. In regard to the latter he blamed the action of the Bishops of Walpole's appointment in the House of Lords quite as much as that of the lay members in the House of Commons. The *Legion Club*, in which his wrath found fiercest expression, was not written till 1736.

l 27 *Two kingdoms, just as faction led* In 1713 a reward of £300 had been offered for the discovery of the author of *The Public Spirit of the Whigs*. This had been done in response to an address by the House of Lords, but the government had, of course, no thought of acting upon it, and issued the proclamation only in deference to the anger of Argyle and the Scottish nobility, who conceived themselves insulted by a reference to them in the pamphlet. The address was moved by Swift's old enemy Lord Wharton. Again in 1724, a reward of £300 was offered for the discovery of the author of the fourth Drapier's letter. The two make up Swift's price of £600, but it was scarcely to be expected that any one could have thought it possible to gain the rewards by revealing what were secrets to no one.

369, l 8 *To reconcile his friends in power* Alluding to Swift's vain attempts, in 1713, to end the fatal dissensions between Harley and St John.

l 19 *that precious life* Of Queen Anne, whose death ended the hopes of the Tories.

l 21 *a dangerous faction* The Whigs under Walpole.

370, l 1 *His friends in exile, or the Tower* Bolingbroke escaped to France, while Oxford and the Duke of Ormond were committed to the Tower.

l 16 *an infamous destructive cheat* Wood, the introducer of the half-pence, against which the Drapier wrote.

l 25 *A wicked monster on the bench* Chief Justice Whithed, who attempted to browbeat the Grand Jury into finding a True Bill against the printer of the Drapier Letters.

l 28 *As modern Scroggs or old Tresilian* Sir William Scroggs was the Chief Justice of England in the days of Charles II, who showed special readiness in coercing the Grand Juries in political trials, and consequently came into collision with the House of Commons. His action is compared with that of Whithed more fully in the fifth Drapier's Letter. Sir Robert Tresilian was Chief Justice in the reign of Richard II, and under him it was said that no one brought to trial as an insurgent ever missed condemnation. His perversion of justice brought its own punishment, and he was put to death in 1388 by the Duke of Gloucester.

371, l 10 *Were always of the muddling kind* 'The little virtue left in the world' says Swift in the fifth Drapier's letter, 'is chiefly to be found among the middle rank of mankind, who are neither allured out of her paths by Ambition, nor driven by Poverty

l 19 The words in italics in this and the following lines are conjecturally, but easily, supplied, to fill gaps in the most authoritative version Scott's version is not entirely accurate

THE BEASTS' CONFESSION

Page 374, l 5 *toupees* (From the French *toupet*) a sort of curled wig

375, l 11 *mean* The rhyme shows the open sound given to the diphthong compare p 384, l 18, and p 392, l 15

377, ll 7 and 8 The lengthened lines are an archaicism, not frequent in Swift

379, l 3 *to make his art a trade* Compare of Arbuthnot, on p 353, l 10 'who knows his art, but not his trade'

l 18 *'Twas he defeated the excise* The excise was one of the projects of the Government that formed a favourite topic of denunciation by their opponents

l 20 *That standing troops were his aversion* As they were the constant aversion of Swift himself See p 15, l 31 (note), and p 233, l 22 (note)

l 26 *memorials* Notes to aid his memory

381, l 4 *well comprehend their natural powers* Compare l 13 on the next page

l 16 *a creature bipes et implumis* In Bergerac's *Voyage to the Moon*, from which Swift borrowed some hints for *Gulliver*, man is called 'un perroquet sans plumes'

ON POETRY

Page 382, l 3 *Young's universal passion, pride* Edward Young (1681-1765) is one of the many English authors whose works are better known by their titles than by their contents, and have furnished a stock of current quotations out of all proportion to the assiduity with which they have been read Educated at Winchester and Oxford, he became a Fellow of All Souls and started on his career as a poet in the reign of Queen Anne Some circumstances gave him a claim to Swift's regard. He opposed the free-thinker Tindal In 1713 he wrote a poem in praise of Swift's friend, Lord Lansdown, one of the twelve peers created to pass the Peace of Utrecht. He

was intimate also with Swift's protégé Harrison (see Vol I pp 246, 321, and notes) He was honoured with the friendship of Pope, and was personally known to Swift himself But there were other circumstances which tempered Swift's friendship Young was a time-server, ready to change from the Tories to the Whigs as interest prompted him was patronized by Wharton, and obtained in 1725 a pension of £200 a year from Walpole Late in life (in 1728) he took orders, with no other apparent motive than that of adding to his income—a course not likely to have the sympathy of Swift The poem by which he is best remembered is the *Night Thoughts*, but his most powerful verse is probably contained in those Seven Satires, which, in 1728, were issued together under the title *The Love of Fame the Universal Passion*, to which Swift here alludes *Pride* was not the name which Young gave to his *Universal Passion*, although the word is often used throughout the poem

384, l 6 *Cibber* (see p 364, l 12, note), whose laureateship raised the hopes of Grub Street, and checked those of genius as effectually as an attander passed upon their race

l 18 *tea* See note on p 375, l 11

385, l 23 *Lintot* See note on p 365, l 31

387, l 21 *marsh* A swamp or fen

388, l 1 *Sir Bob* Sir Robert Walpole (see p 364, l 4)

l 29 *the ivory gate of dreams* Alluding to Virgil, *Aen vi* 894, where the horny gates admit true, and the ivory gates, false, dreams

389, l 9 *the oracles of both* i e the judges and the bishops, for neither of which classes had Swift a good word

l 17 *a nod, a shrug, a scornful smile* The

'Damn with faint praise, assent with civil leer,

And without sneering teach the rest to sneer'—

of Pope on 'Atticus'

l 25 *Get scraps of Horace from your friends* As in the *Verses on his own Death*—'A verse from Horace, learned by rote' (p 372, l 14)

l 29 *Judicious Rymer* See Vol I p 85, l 30 (note).

l 30 *Dennis* See Vol I p 85, l 31 (note)

Bossu Bossuet (1627–1704), author of the philosophical *Discours sur l'Histoire Universelle*

l 31 *Read all the prefaces of Dryden.* These prefaces, in Johnson's opinion, entitled Dryden to his title of 'the Father of English criticism,' and few will now dispute their value But Swift could judge nothing that came from Dryden's pen with fairness Johnson himself says (*Lives of the Poets*, ed Cunningham, i 299) that Dryden's prefaces were written 'to increase the value of his copies.'

390, l 2. *With sham quotations per hupsous* The treatise of the

rhetorician Longinus, *Περὶ ὑψους*, on the Sublime, was that which suggested Pope's prose satire *Περὶ βδόχους*, or *The Art of Sinking in Poetry*, which ridiculed the poetasters of the day, and began the long struggle with Grub Street, of which the *Dunciad* is the chief monument

l 7 *Translated from Boileau's translation* Boileau translated Longinus's treatise into French and Welsted translated this version into English

l 10 *where Battus from the table head* These lines are another reminiscence from Pope's lines on 'Atticus' (see p 389, l 17) *Battus* is probably a name taken at random, perhaps with a thought of the shepherd in Ovid's *Metamorph*, so named, who, for betraying Mercury's misdeeds, was changed into a stone Index Swift may well have intended to ascribe to the critic the stolid density of the flint-stone.

l 26 *Augusta Trinobantum* London To the Latin town, *Londinium*, the surname of *Augusta* was attached and it adjoined the territory of the Trinobantes, who occupied the northern bank of the Thames

391, l 13 *Bavius Maevius* The two poets who served as the Dunces to Virgil and Horace Virgil has immortalized them in the line—

'Qui Bavius non odit, amet tua carmina Maevi'

And Horace calls down curses on the ship that carries Maevius

l 15. *Tigellus* Another of the Dunces who felt the lash of Horace's Satire See Vol I p 120, l 30 (note)

l 21 *Where Young, &c* See note to p 382, l 3.

l 31. *Hobbes clearly proves* In the treatise *De Cive*

392, l. 23 *Extol the Greek and Roman masters* Swift had no sympathy with those who spoilt his own case in the *Battle of the Books*, by tactless exaggeration

l 32. *Who crowd the press with hourly trash* Compare p 91 of Vol I

398, l. 11. *From Flecknoe down to Howard's time* *Flecknoe* was an Irishman, at one time a Roman Catholic priest, the author of poems utterly forgotten, while their author has been immortalized by Dryden as the sire of the race of dullards Shadwell, the object of his attack, is called Mac Flecknoe Flecknoe died in 1678 *Howard*, was not Sir Robert Howard, the brother-in-law, and for a time the *collaborateur*, of Dryden, who became involved in a controversy with him as to the merits of rhymed drama, but the Hon Edward Howard, author of some contemptible plays.

l 14. *Blackmore*. See Vol I p 177, l 5 (note) and p. 220, l 4 (note).

l 18 *Great poet of the hollow tree* Lord Grimston See p 98, l 17 (note)

l 22 *Duncema* The realms of Grub Street

394, l 2 *Welsted* Leonard Welsted, a wretched poetaster, who had doubly deserved the satire of Swift, by attacking Pope, and by being a dependent of the Whigs He is gibbeted in the *Dunciad* in lines parodied from Denham—

‘Flow, Welsted, flow’ like thine inspirer, Beer,
Tho’ stale, not ripe tho’ thin, yet never clear’

l 4 *The Laureate* Cibber

l 5 *Concannen* Matthew Concannen, another of the Whig scribblers, whom Pope names in the *Dunciad*—

‘True to the bottom see Concannen creep,
A cold, long-winded native of the deep’

l 7 *Jemmy Moore* See p 364, l 12 (note)

l 19 *Fair Britain in thy monarch blest* From the lines following Pope got the hint for the ironical turn given to his 1st Epistle, addressed to George II, as Augustus, and the spirit which inspired that poem (written in 1737) was one which Pope shared with Swift Pope’s Epistle is an imitation of Horace’s 1st Epistle of the 2nd Book Swift has taken scraps both from Horace and Virgil, especially from the 6th Aeneid

l 32 *short by the knees* = genibus minor So Horace (Ep I 12 28)
‘jus imperiumque Phraates
Caesaris accepit genibus minor’

l 33 *The consort of his throne and bed* Queen Caroline, from whom, and from whom alone, any favour shown to literature by the Court proceeded

395, l 3 *divine Iulus* The Prince of Wales (From the 6th Aen)

l 14 *Duke William* The Duke of Cumberland, afterwards infamous for the cruelties that followed Culloden

l 15 *the minister of state* Walpole

l 19 *Intent the public debts to pay—by delay* Alluding to the growth of the funded debt, which Swift opposed, as a scheme for aggrandizing the moneyed at the expense of the landed interest (see p 233, l 14)

l 30 *at the steerage* Compare p 370, l 21

396, l 2 *an azure knight* A knight of the garter

l 7 *Young*. See p 382, l 3

l 34 *Woolston* See p 366, l 25 (note)

THE DAY OF JUDGMENT

We are indebted for these lines of consummate contempt to Chesterfield, who preserves them in a letter addressed to Voltaire on August 27, 1752 (vol iii p 342, ed 1774). He introduces them thus: *'Que je vous sçais gré surtout, Monsieur, du jour dans lequel vous avez mis les fo'ies et les fureurs des sectes. A propos de ces fous, je vous envoie ci jointe une piece sur leur sujet par le feu Docteur Swift, laquelle je crois ne vous déplaira pas. Elle n'a jamais été imprimée, vous en devinerez bien la raison, mais elle est authentique. J'en ai l'original écrit de sa propre main. Son Jupiter, au jour du jugement, les traite a peu près comme vous les traitez et comme ils le méritent'* Chesterfield misses the point of the satire, and places an interpretation on the lines which would have been of all things distasteful to Swift. Had Swift intended to mock attachment to dogmatic religion he would have been false to his life-long attitude, which was one of consuming contempt for the Free-thinkers. His satire here is directed not against the adherents of a strict creed, but against the ineradicable pettiness of human nature, which tempts men to be *'shammed* in different sects,' and degrades all their beliefs into subterfuges at which Heaven smiles. Swift's scepticism was doubtless far more profound in reality than he himself suspected: but in this, as in all his moods, he was isolated from his fellow men, and hated, above all things, the shallow latitudinarianism of such a man as Chesterfield.

THE LEGION CLUB

The occasion of this attack upon the Irish House of Commons was as follows. Swift conceived that the rights of the Church were betrayed by the government and its supporters, while her chief prizes were given as the rewards for political time-serving. In 1731, he found two Bills pressed in the House of Commons which would have put greater authority over the clergy, into the hands of the Bishops of Walpole's creating. He describes them in a letter to Bishop Sterne as *'two abominable Bills, for enslaving and beggaring the clergy, which took their birth from Hell'*. In 1733, this attack upon the clergy was followed by another Bill which, in order to encourage the linen manufacture, proposed to substitute a *Modus*, or fixed payment, for the tithe on flax which Swift held to be the inalienable property of the Church. The Bill was thrown out; but in 1736, the landlords, a class for whose greed and selfishness Swift

had no words too strong, introduced another Bill to put an end to an old-standing tithe on pasturage, called the *agistment*. This had often been disputed, but the law-suits had been uniformly decided in favour of the Church. These repeated attempts to forge new fetters for the clergy and to deprive them of their scanty revenues raised Swift's anger to white-heat, and the last, in which the landlords were using their preponderating influence in the House to free themselves from a legal payment, and to plunder the Church as they plundered their tenants, made Swift's fury break forth in the present lines. It is only fair to Boulter, Swift's antagonist, to say that he opposed this attack on the clergy with zeal.

The name *Legion Club* is doubtless taken from the question put to the demoniac amongst the Gadarenes (St. Luke viii. 30), 'What is thy name?' And he said Legion, because many devils were entered into him.'

Page 398, l. 3 *Not a bowshot from the college*. The Irish Parliament House was on the site now occupied by the Bank of Ireland, and part of the present building was erected in 1729. It faced Trinity College.

l. 6 *Placed against the Church direct*. St. Andrew's Church is close to the site of the Parliament House.

l. 18 *Jackpudding*. A mountebank, or merry-andrew.

399, l. 16 *For his lunatics and fools*. See p. 363, l. 2 (note).

400, l. 7 *Let Sir Tom, that rampant ass*. This was Sir Thomas Prendergast or Pendergrass (so the name of his father seems to have been spelt). He was prominent amongst the opponents of the clergy, the defenders of the landlords, and the most servile of the government's supporters. His father had been an Irish Roman Catholic, and held the post of a petty officer in the army; was involved in the plot for the assassination of William III., in 1696, and saved himself by turning informer. The story is told, with due Whig bias, by Burnet, and Macaulay even endeavours to make something of a hero of one who acted the wretched part of informer against his accomplices with such success that he obtained as his reward an estate and baronetcy. It was asserted that the grandfather of Swift's enemy was of base origin and that, for stealing cows, he was imprisoned, and narrowly escaped hanging, while on his mother's side he was, according to the songs of the day, descended from Ludlow the regicide.

l. 15. Observe that the metre requires the last two words to be pronounced as one, with the accent on the last syllable of *privilege*.

l. 31. *Near the door an entrance gapes*. In the lines that follow Swift borrows phrases and machinery from the description of the

visit of Aeneas to Avernus in the 6th Aeneid, beginning 'vestibulum ante ipsum, primisque in faucibus Orci, Luctus et ultrices posuere cubilia curae (v 273)'

l 34 *Causeless Joy* 'Et mala mentis Gaudia'
401, l 1 *Discord perurwigg'd with snakes*

'Discordia demens,

Vipereum crinem vittis innexa cruentis'

l 7 *Cho*, the Muse of history, plays the part of the Sibyl in Virgil Swift seizes his stick, as Aeneas does his sword when he is stopped by the Sibyl

'strictamque aciem venientibus offert

Et in docta comes tennes sine corpore vitas
Admonuit voltare cava sub imagine formas,
Irruat', &c

l 16 *Carey* Walter Carey, Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant (Duke of Dorset), 1731-1737

402, l 14 *Waller* Colonel John Waller, grandson of another regicide, Sir Hardress Waller The cruelties and injustice of this Waller to the Rev Roger Throp, who resisted Waller's extortionate demands, ended only with the death of the clergyman, hastened by the persecution His brother, Robert Throp, afterwards had the help of Swift in presenting his case, and in petitioning Parliament to oblige Waller to waive his Privilege as a member, which prevented the suit against him The Parliament were as tenacious of Privilege as Swift represents, and refused to deprive their colleague of this cloak for his wrong doing

l 22 *on the puppy pair of Ducks* Dick Fitz-Baker (so called because he was descended from a baker who supplied Cromwell's army with bread) was Richard Tighe, an old foe of Swift's They had met in London in old days, and Swift records in the *Journal* how he strove to avoid 'the hot whiffing puppy' whose domestic quarrels were carried on in sight of the neighbours, opposite Swift's lodgings He was now an ardent Whig, who found his occupation in hunting out Tory disaffection, and in bearing tales of Lord Carteret's friendship for such dangerous opponents of the administration as Swift, Sheridan and Delany Swift was never tired of ridiculing him, and has preserved his memory by many of the metrical lampoons issued about this time Farquhar, who was his fellow-student, dedicates the *Inconstant* to him, with abundant flattery, but as he likens him to young *Minabel* in the play, we need find no inconsistency between Farquhar's compliments and Swift's contempt

Dick the player is Serjeant Richard Bettsworth, a prominent member of the dominant faction, to whose account Swift laid the

attacks upon the Church and the Sacramental test In 1733, Swift, in a lampoon on the subject wrote the lines—

‘ Thus at the bar the booby Bettesworth,
Though half-a-crown o’er pays his sweat’s worth

The attack aroused all the pompous vanity of the lawyer (which procured him the nickname of *Player*) and he hastened to extort an apology from Swift, by threats of violence His bullying failed, and an association of the Kevin Bail (the populace of St Patrick’s Liberty) was formed to take vengeance on Bettesworth for his threats, and was only restrained by Swift’s own orders Bettesworth continued to suffer from the lash of Swift’s satire, and confessed in Parliament that the ridicule to which he was exposed lost him £1200 a year

403 ll 1 and 3 Three brothers Wynne, and two Bingham, sat as supporters of the Government

l 13 *Morgan* This was Marcus Antonius Morgan (see Vol I p 237, l 13, note) As might be inferred from the way in which his name is brought in, Swift was on fairly good terms with him But he had now earned Swift’s sarcasm as Chairman of the Committee which reported against the tithe of *agistment*, and thus infringed the rights of the Church

404, l 6 *Send the clergy all to graze* The tithe of agistment was said to discourage pasturage—in Swift’s eyes the bane of Ireland—and so it was an easy jibe for the supporters of the Bill for the abolition of that tithe, to suggest that when it was passed the clergy might be sent to graze.

l 9 *humorous Hogarth* Hogarth’s illustrations of *Hudibras*—sure to be of interest to Swift—had appeared in 1726, and the engravings of the *Harlots Progress* in 1733 Swift was doubtless well acquainted with the work of one whose pencil followed so closely the example of his own pen

l 33 The two concluding lines are added in the MS at Trinity College, Dublin The ‘righteous fifty-two’ was no doubt the number of those who resisted the Bill

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